A Study of the Search for Identity of Orissa and The Creation of a Separate Province



Narayan Rao



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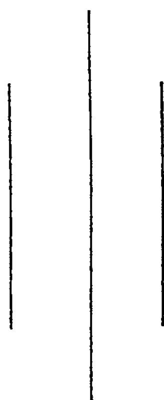
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He is the life member of many leading research organizations of the state and the country. He has to his credit a very large number of research papers published in several standard research Journals of Orissa and India.

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PREFACE

Hemmed in one side by the sea, on all other sides by ranges of mountains and dense forests and intersected by many rivers, Orissa, because of her geographical position, has developed a pattern of life, art, language, and literature of her own. Nature's bounty gave her people an individuality out of which grew up a culture representing a strange mixture of the Aryans and the Dravidians. From the beginning of dated history, Orissa maintained her political identity, economic prosperity, oversea commerce and cultural efflorescence till her political independence was lost in 1568. It was almost the last Hindu Kingdom of India to fall to the Muslims. The second half of 18th century saw the collapse of the Moghul and Maratha imperialism as they were the custodians and defenders of what was time honoured and indigenous. The British became the rulers of Orissa in 1803. Orissa was one among the ceded and conquered provinces. Different parts of Orissa had to go through frequent vicissitudes in respect of their annexation to different political units, created by the British from time to time, for exigencies of administration.

The present study is an attempt to analyse the search for identity of Orissa and culmination in the constitution of

most of the Oriya speaking areas into a separate Province in 1936. The Oriyas prior to 1936 remaining under four Provinces namely Bengal, Madras, Central Provinces and Bihar always formed a minority under the respective governments. The alien element who had a different language and different customs gradually acquired an importance wellnigh threatening national extinction of the indigenous population. The expression of an united national life, based on the affinity of language and community was very much threatened. The people of Orissa, on their part had neither the required consciousness nor any forum to demand territorial readjustments in the perspective of racial, social and cultural homogeneity, till the latter part of 19th century,

The Orissa Famine of 1866, which took away one-third of her entire population, exposed the complicated evils of neglect and oppression of the British officials and their non-Oriya subordinates. Destruction of indigenous industries, abolition of the traditional economic benefits, experiment with different land systems and elimination of politico-economic privileges of several land owning and trading groups, had disastrous effects on the Oriya people leading to their total demoralisation, It is a strange phenomenon that the cruel famine eventually aroused nationalist consciousness among the Oriyas. The feelings of the people towards the British had become glaring in the sentiments of hatred, defiance and hostility which long animated the whole majority. The language agitation of 1869 and the growth of Oriya nationalism were facilitated mainly due to the rise of a middle class intelligence and the growth of mass media and communications like Press, Railways and Postal Services.

With the increasing demand for higher education, there was the growth of volatile Vernacular Press and the emergence of an elite class. Interestingly, the renaissance in the 19th century exhorted the people to cherish with pride their rich literary heritage and to demonstrate their innate fitness. The general progress in the realm of education and the development of vernacular literature transformed the Oriya character and prepared them to the task with assiduity and earnestness. The administrative fragmentation could not snap, the thread of cultural affinity which had once bound them together in the heyday of political glory.

The Amalgamation of the Oriya speaking tracts and the creation of a separate Orissa Province in 1936 has a historical dimension and relevance to Indian History. Originally, Indian National Congress was hesitant to take up regional issues as it was going ahead with the task of liberating India from the foreign rule. But, gradually it gave indications of dealing favourably with the issue of linguistic provinces. Yet, throughout the course of the struggle, the regional issue and the concept of linguistic province facilitated due to the approach of moderates and extremists of the Indian National Congress. The formation of Orissa as a separate Province was the first experiment in the readjustment of territories on the basis of linguistic homogeneity. In 1936, the creation of distinct linguistic regions began with Orissa.

The case of Oriya nationalism identical with the struggle for a separate identity presents a distinctive feature in the sense that Orissa did not come under British sway all at a time. Instead, it was a piecemeal process of conquest during which different portions were annexed at different

times and were attached to large provinces like Madras, Bengal and the Central Provinces for administration. The Feudatory States numbering 26 dynasties existed till the British conquest in 1803. An analysis has been made on early British administration and frequent structural changes in the politico-administrative set up of the region.

Chapter-Two deals with the growth of education and political consciousness in Orissa during second-half of 19th century. The failure of the British to rearrange the conquered territories in the context of popular needs or aspiration provided the nucleus for the growth of national consciousness, In the beginning, the people of Orissa did not have the required consciousness to demand territorial readjustments in the perspective of racial, social and cultural considerations till the growth of education. The spread of English and Vernacular education, opening up the technical institutions, the establishment of Printing Press and publication of Newspapers and journals gave a tremendous philip to the growth of national consciousness.

In Chapter-Three, an analysis of the language agitation has been made. The spread of oriya nationalism was essentially language oriented and the leaders realised that they must remain united under one administration to maintain their separate cultural distinctiveness,

Chapter-Four deals with the Congress Movement in Orissa which ran parallel to the struggle to create a separate Province by amalgamating the scattered oriya speaking tracts. The freedom struggle under the aegis of Indian National Congress never lost the main objective of achieving a separate

Province. Interestingly, the Gandhian programme of non-cooperation and civil disobedience was scruplously observed by the people of Orissa during 1920- thereby creating an unprecedented mass movement in an otherwise orthodox and dormant society of the Oriyas.

Chapter-Five brings under focus the British response to Oriya nationalism and finally setting up the Boundary Commission. Different phases of the Boundary Commission have been examined until the long cherished dream of the Oriyas became a reality in 1936 with the creation of a separate Province.

In the Chapter-Six the leadership profile has been given to highlight the contribution made by eminent public leaders of Orissa in leading their people to the promised land and fighting for swaraj from British rule.

There are very few authentic works on the modern history of Orissa dealing with political and economic aspects. Very few scholars have worked on the history of Orissa under the British rule. Dr. Mahtab's *History of Orissa,* Vol.II (1960) is in the form of Text Book, giving a descriptive account of Orissa under British administration in general. B. C. Ray's *Foundation of British Orissa*, P. MukherJee's *History of Orissa*, Vol.VI (1964), K. M. Patra's *Orissa Under the East India Company* (1971), J. K. Samals Orissa Under the British Crown (1977), History of Freedom Movement in Orissa edited by Dr. Mahtab, B. S. Das's *Economic History of Orissa* have highlighted different phases and aspects of Orissa under British Raj. On the Oriya nationalist struggle during 19th and early part of 20th century, S. C. Patra's *Creation of Orissa*

Province, P. K. Mishra's *Political History of Orissa*, 1900-1936, Nivedita Mohanty's *Oriya Nationalism* and Purushottam Kar's *Indian National Congress and Orissa 1885-1936* are pioneering works. In the present work, an attempt has been made to project on the specific issue of Orissa's search for identity, bringing to limelight an interesting aspect of Orissan History and the role played by cultural legacy in shaping political aspirations of a people.

The wealth of literary sources available have been thoroughly examined to filter the historical contents. Innumerable private letters and correspondences, the biographical works of eminent scholars, contemporary newspapers and journals, Administrative Reports of Orissa Division, Bengal Legislative Council Proceedings, Parliamentary Debates, Administrative Reports of Bihar and Orissa, Imperial Council Debates, Journals and Proceedings of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa Research Society etc also reflect the aspirations of the people of Orissa in search for a separate identity, This work is an attempt to trace the underlying thread of sociocultural unity of the people of Orissa inspite of vivisection and structural change in the political set up. The work is based on the original and unpublished source materials available in the National Archives of India, New Delhi. All India National Congress Library, New Delhi; Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi; National Library, Calcutta; Orissa State Archives, Bhubaneswar; Bihar State Archives, Patna; Tamilnadu State Archives, Madras; the Central Provinces Secretariat Record Room, Nagpur; Utkal Sahitya Samaj Library, Cuttack; Ravenshaw College Library, Cuttack and other institutions.

Relevant micro filmed Proceedings of the Indian National Congress and Photostat or microfilmed reports of local newspapers and the private papers of Madhusudan Das, Mahatama Gandhi, C.F.Andrews and Gopabandhu Das have been utilised.

I owe my gratitude to the authorities of the above mentioned institutions'for affording their unstinted support to me.

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Narayan Rao



Dedicated to

My Revered Father

Late Govind Chandra Dora

ABBREVIATIONS

AARB	Annual Administration Reports, Bengal
AGAR	Annual General Administration Reports
CPDG	Central Provinces District Gazetteers
CWMG	Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi
CIE	Companion of the order of the Indian Empire
F.No	File Number
GRPI	General Reports of Public Instructions
ICS	Indian Civil Service
ISC	Indian Statutory Commission
JASB	Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal
Lt.	Lieutenant
NMML	Nehru Memorial Museum and Library
ODG	Orissa District Gazetteers
OHRJ	Orissa Historical Research Journal
OSA	Orissa State Archives
PBOLC	Proceedings of the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council
POLO	Political
PROGS	Proceedings
UD	Utkal Dipika (Oriya Weekly Newspaper)
UPCC	Utkal Pradesh Congress Committee
UUC	Utkal Union Conference

Contents

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Orissa is a land of hoary past and rich cultural heritage. The earliest human inhabitants of the land of Orissa are said to have belonged to the non-Aryan stock whose descendants are still to be found in the mountainous terrain. The pre-history of Orissa, like the history of all ancient people, rests heavily on the fables and legends. But the pre-historic implements found in Orissa have been divided into three broad categories, viz., Early Stone Age Culture, Middle Stone Age Culture and Later Stone Age Culture.[1] The Copper Age pre-historic sites are reported to have existed at Dhenkanal and Mayurbhanj districts of modern Orissa,[2] Geologically speaking, the coastal plains of Orissa are of recent creations, formed by the river deltas gradually elevated from the sea level.

The region now known as Orissa, has been referred in ancient times under various names, such as Kalinga, Utkala, Odra and South Kosala. The political geography of this land included Odra and Utkala in the central Orissa, Kalinga in the South and South Kosala in the west. These names have found mention in ancient Sanskrit and Pali literature which record the origin of these countries in mythological stories. But these legendary accounts do not enable us to have an exact idea about their historical origin.

However, they suggest that Kalinga, Utkala, Odra and South Kosala were inhabitated by the different stocks of people, but incourse of time they gradually became amalgamated, though the distinct nomenclature of their territories continued to exist.[3]

The word 'Orissa' is derived from 'Odra' or 'Odradesa' or 'Odravisaya' through derivatives like 'Oddivisa' or 'Odivisa'[4]. The earliest epigraphic reference to 'Odra' is found in the Soro Copper Plates of Somadatta as Odravisaya.[5] In the 7th century A.D., the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang referred to it as 'Wu-tu' country.[6] The country was located between the rivers Suvarnarekha and Mahanadi, comprising the whole of the present districts of Balasore, Cuttack, Sambalpur and a portion of Midnapore, now in West Bengal. The name Kalinga occurs in the Puranas in association with Anga, Vanga, Pundra and Sumha. The evidence furnished by Asoka's inscriptions at Tosali and Samopa proves that Kalinga in his time included the entire region, now 'known as Orissa. Kalinga emerged as an imperial power in the 1st century B.C. under Kharavela, as revealed in the Hatigumpha Inscription. The region which came to be known as South Kosala consisted of some states of Orissa bordering Sambalpur like Patna, Bamra, Sonepur and Redhakhol. The upper valley of the rivers Mahanadi and Tel was the heartland of South Kosala with north western border of Kalinga as its Southern boundary.[7] The Kalachuris of Tripuri and Somavamsi's ruled over this region. Besides, Kalinga, Utkala, Kosala and Odra, there were also smaller geographical units, which were apparently occupied by the feudatory chiefs. All these geographical units played their part in the political and cultural history of Orissa.

The emergence of the Eastern Gangas in the 12th century brought about a significant turn in the history of Orissa. Anantavarman Chodagangadeva united the territories of Kalinga and Utkala into one political entity which entailed a chain of events in the society.[8] This United Kingdom of Orissa extended from the river Ganges in the North to the Godavari in the South.[9] A great solidarity of thought was generated out of this union and the Oriya language gained importance. It was under the Ganga rule that the Oriya language as an Oriya vernacular became the dominant speech in Orissa,[10] The use of common language under a common administration developed the sense of linguistic, social and cultural unity among the people. Chodaganga's construction of the monumental Jagannath temple knit the Oriyas further into cultural unity and henceforth Jagannath was to be recognised as the presiding deity of the Oriyas. Chodaganga was also responsible in curtailing the importance of Kalinga and giving prominence to Odradesa by shifting his capital from Kalinganagara to Cuttack. This act ultimately led to the modern name Odisa. Abhinava Varanasi-Kataka or the modern Cuttack city became the centre of all political and cultural activities in Orissa.

Orissa plunged into political turmoil towards the later part of Ganga rule due to the rise of Vijayanagar empire and the Bahamani empire in the South and frequent Muslim incursion of Bengal in the north. With the foundation of 'Surya' dynasty by an illustrious king called Kapilendradev (1435-1467), Orissa once again surged forward as an imperial power. He carried on numerous successful expeditions beyond the frontiers and expanded the boundaries of Orissa from the Ganges to the Pennar

(near Madras) and consolidated the position of Orissa in the Indian scene,[11] Orissa had virtually came to the zenith in the spheres of painting, sculpture, art, architecture literature and was basking in a greatly enriched culture. Along with Oriya language and Oriya script, a distinct Oriya culture came into prominence[12] and the kings claimed that they were the rulers of Odisa. Purusottamdev (1468-1497), another illustrious king of the dynasty, not only maintained the territorial integrity of the empire, but also added to it Kanchi by defeating Salva Narasingha.[13] But the last king of the Surya dynasty called Prataparudradev (1497-1534) preferred to devote most of his time to worship and religious ceremonies and thereby weakened the military strength of the once powerful dynasty. The decay started and Orissa could hardly maintain its territorial integrity. After a brief spell of Bhoi dynasty, Orissa passed into the hands of Afghans in 1568. Mukundadeva was destined to be the last Hindu ruler in Orissa, when he fell in fighting against the Afghan leader Suleiman Karani.

From 1568 to 1592, Orissa became a ground of continuous strife between the Afghans and the Mughuls. Before the Afghans could consolidate their power, the Mughuls entered the field and in 1592, Mansingh annexed Orissa to Akbar's empire[14] Mansingh remained as the Governor till the death of his imperial master in 1605. The territories were appropriated into five 'Sarkars' such as, Jaleswar, Bhadrak, Cuttack, Kalinga Dandpat and Rajmahendri.[15] These 'Sarkars' formed a part of Bengal 'Subah'.[16] The hill territories were kept under a separate head in the revenue accounts of the empire.[17] Their rulers were the feudatories of the Mughuls and paid annual

tribute to the emperor. The Mughul territory in Orissa in the north included Tamluk and Midnapore.

Akbar's Orissa made the first dismemberment of the Oriya land in the north by taking away Hugli and its ten dependent Mahals (small estates) and joining them with Bengal. Soonafter the settlement of Akbar, the 'Sarkar' of Rajmahendri and a portion of the Sarkar of Kalinga Dandapat were occupied by the Qutbshahi kings of Golconda. By the time of Jahangir, territories to the South of the lake Chilika had been separated from the Mughul dominions, and as such from the rest of Orissa.[19] This tract which was governed from Hyderabad, was called the 'Northern Circar' (Chicacole Sarkar). Thus, the two Southern districts of modern Orissa, Ganjam and Koraput, were separated from the mainland and were ruled for about one hundred and eighty years as part of the Nizam's kingdom in the Daccan.[20]

In 1751, Alivardi Khan, the Nawab of Bengal, ceded the province of Cuttack to Raghuji Bhonsle of Nagpur. The territories thus ceded had extended from the river Suvernarekha in the north to the lake of Chilika in the south and covered an area of about 8,000 square miles.[21] Nawab Alivardi Khan retained for himself that part of Orissa which lay between the rivers Suvarnarekha and Rupnarain.[22] Since then, Midnapore has remained politically detached from Orissa (Province of Cuttack), the local people being gradually separated from the linguistic and cultural mainstream of the Oriya race and increasingly absorbed in that of the Bengali population.[23] The constitutional status of Orissa under the treaty of 1751 was rather peculiar. The Naib Nizam (Mir Habib) of Orissa was appointed formally by Alivardi Khan, but the latter

had no authority over the functioning of Naib Nizam, as he was an agent of Marathas.

Orissa during Maratha rule (1751-1803) possessed two distinct political divisions, Mughalbandi and 'Garjat'. The former comprised the plains and fertile lands in the coastal region and was thickly populated. The latter was a wild tract of lands covered by hills and forests with population sparesely distributed. The Mughalbandi was under the direct administration of the Marathas but the 'Garjats' were held by several feudatory chieftains.[24] They paid annual tribute to the Maratha Government, and the latter generally did not interfere in the internal administration.[25] The Raja of Nagpur appointed his Governor, styled as the Subedar of Orissa, who administered the territories from his headquarters at Cuttack.

The English East India Company as the ruler of Bengal and Madras soon realised that the control of Orissa by the Marathas beyond the border of Midnapore was a source of perpetual danger. It was a stumbling block in the free communication between their Northern and Southern territories. The Northern circar fell in the hands of the British in 1760 after the third Anglo-French War.[26] Consequently, it was granted to the Company by the Mughal emperor Shah Alam II in a firman on 12 August 1765. Therefore, the East India Company was anxious to dislodge the Maratha rulers in Orissa. Moreover, the Maratha rulers were also making frequent incursions into the territories well inside the northern portion of the river Suvernarekha. They made an approach to the Naib Nazim of Orissa for the cessation of Orissa to them in lieu of a stipulated annual sum.[27] The diplomacy of Warren Hastings

succeeded in bringing Madhoji Bhonsola, the Raja, of Nagpur into close alliance with the British during the First Maratha War. The British troops were permitted to march through Orissa. Yet, Hastings could not succeed in getting possession of Orissa from the Marathas.

From Clive (1765-1767) to Carnawallis (1786-1783), the East India Company carried on diplomatic negotiation with the Marathas for the possession of the land. But it had failed. In 1798, Lord Wellesley became the Governor General in India. His Subsidiary Alliance policy proved to be quite significant. He sent a proposal to the Raja of Nagpur for the establishment of a British subsidiary force in his territories.[28] The Raja of Nagpur refused and thus invited the wrath of the company. In 1803, the British troops marched into Orissa to crush the Maratha power and finally brought Orissa under their control. By the treaty of Deogaon, signed on 17 December 1803, the Raja of Nagpur surrendered in perpetual sovereignty, the province of Cuttack including the port and district of Balasore to the British East India Company.[29] Orissa which was ceded by the Marathas in the treaty, extended from Chilika lake and the Ganjam district on the south to the districts of Midnapore and Birbhum on the north; the sea on the East and the Province of Chhatisgarh on the west.[30]

Thus, the British forces occupied the southern parts of Orissa in 1766 respectively, the coastal region in 1803 and the western part by 1849. This gradual territorial acquisition by the British stabilised the political dismemberment of Orissa and told upon its cultural homogenity. The local people were not accustomed to the new bureaucracy and the mode of Judiciary and Police Organisation Assessment of land was made without prior

inquiry into the cultivable land and revenue was not equitably distributed.[31] Payment was stipulated to be made only in cash and strict punctuality was demanded. [32] The implementation of the Bengal Regulations was done with great haste and consequently, with total disregard for the local culture and tradition. Their enforcement of the use of coin in 1809 depreciated the value of traditional currency 'Cowry' and disturbed the financial equilibrium causing a good deal of confusion.[33] The trade policy of East India Company and the monopoly of salt business caused untold hardship to the poor local people.[34] The Bengalis replaced the Oriyas in the Revenue administration because of their knowledge of British regulations. They often took recourse to trickery aimed at acquiring landed property, taking advantage of the helplessness of the Oriya proprietors. This led to the economic exploitation and social degeneration of the common people.

It is interesting to note that, a dismembered people, irrespective of their political and administrative separation could present a sociocultural unity in the entire Oriya speaking tracts. Henceforward, the government discarded its complacency and began to think of administrative reorganisation. Sir Staffor Northcote, the Secretary of state for India, had suggested in 1868 for a regrouping of Oriya-speaking territories as a measure of reducing the danger of administrative neglect of a country regularly visited by natural calamities like flood and famine.[35] H,G.Cooke, the Commissioner of Orissa Division, suggested the territorial adjustments by uniting Sambalpur district of the Chhatisgarh Division of the central provinces with the tributary states of Patna, Sonepur, Rairakhol, Bamra,

Kalahandi, the whole of Ganjam district with the states of Kimedi and Ghumsur, with the Orissa Division to facilitate better administration. Thus, the vivisection of Orissa into four different administrative units affected the cultural, linguistic and all-sided development of Orissa. The British administration provided the nucleus for the growth of national consciousness among the Oriyas which led to future agitation for the creation of a separate province of Orissa.

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GROWTH OF EDUCATION AND POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS

Though Orissa had a glorious past, the British administration was responsible for the vivisection of the Oriya country and Oriya race, The different parts of Orissa had to go through frequent vicissitudes due to their annexation to three different provinces, viz., Bengal, Madras the central province. Thus, always the Oriyas formed a minority under the above governments, which affected the cultural, linguistic and political developments of Orissa.[1] The alien element who had, in such case, a different language and different customs, gradually acquired an importance well nigh threatning national extinction of the indigenous population.[2] In the Madras Presidency, the Oriyas had been forced to learn Telugu, in the central province Hindi and even in Orissa proper, Bengali at the cost of their own mother tongue. The expression of an united national life, based on the affinity of the language and community was very much thwarted. The British never rearranged the conquered territories in the context of popular needs or aspirations. The people of Orissa, on their part, did not have the required consciousness to demand territorial readjustments in the perspective of racial, social and cultural considerations,

till the latter part of 19th century. Those who lived in the princely states suffered in their inaccessible seclusion, while the coastal districts which linked the Company's territories with Bengal and Madras were paid scant administrative attention. The consequences of such apathy could not be realised by the company. In the outlying Oriya tracts, systematic attempts were made to destroy the Oriya language and culture together. This created a race consciousness for the protection of Oriya language and culture and an urge for the unification of the dismembered Oriya tracts with Orissa Division under one administrator.

In 1866-67. Orissa was visited by an unprecedented famine which took away one-third of her population i.e.; more than one million souls.[3]

Speaking on the Orissa famine in the British House of Commons on 2 August 1867, Sir Stafford Northcote, the Secretary of State for India said :

> This catastrophe must always remain a monument of our failure, a humiliation to the people of this country, and those of our Indian officials of whom we had been perhaps a little too proud.[4]

In fact, Orissa was at that time almost isolated from the rest of India, the only road, leading to Calcutta across a country intersected by large rivers and liable to inundation was unmetalled and unbridged and there was very little communication by sea. The East India Company looked upon Orissa as a mere source of revenue. However, the attention of the Home Government was drawn to this neglected tract soon after the famine.

The Government was forced to go into the deficiencies of the administrative set-up and this in itself proved a great blessing for the people who were so long taken for granted and were forced to establish contacts with the rulers only through the Bengali intermediaries. When the Famine Commission in this report indicted the administration for their inept handling of the situation in Orissa, it created a flutter in the British Parliament.[5] Sir Stafford Northcote had even suggested the restructuring of the administrative set-up in the Bengal Province as it was in a condition of territorial indigestion and could not be administered efficiently. The significance of his report was profound for the cause of Oriya nationalism. It opened a new period in the history of this neglected area, as the Government started showing some interest in the development of the region. It also instilled in the people a new hope that perhaps the Government would pay heed to their grievances if properly represented.[6]

The impact of the famine and the British administration after 1868, brought about great transformation in the history of Orissa. The introduction of English education, patronage of Oriya language and spread of western liberal ideas laid the foundation of the growth of political consciousness in Orissa during British rule.[7] Describing the condition which prevailed before the famine, Sir W.W.Hunter, a noted historian and civil servant wrote :

> Throughout the length and breadth of the province with its population of two and half million of souls, all was darkness and superstition. Here and there, indeed a Pandit taught a few lads Sanskrit in a corner of some rich landholder's mansion, and the larger villages had a sort of hedge-school, where half a

> dozen boys squattered with the master on the ground, forming the alphabet in the dust and repeating the multiplication table in a parrot like sing song. Any one who could write a sentence or two on a palm-leaf passed for a man of letters.[8]

A. Sutton remarks that :

> A few zamindars and Rajas are known to teach their wives to write and keep accounts, because, they must in some cases guard their own interests; and a few abandoned females are taught to read and sing the abominable songs about Hindoo Gods in persecution of their hateful trade. But, none are taught with a view to the cultivation of their minds or the elevation of their moral character.[9]

However, there was nothing like an integrated system of education under state control or direction. There were no buildings for schools of Higher and Primary education. Broader avenues of knowledge remained far from the scope of education. There were no printed Books and trained teachers. The most lamentable aspect of the educational system was that it made no suitable provision of public instruction for girls. Acquisition of learning by women was certainly a rare privilege, but an assertion in support of universal female illiteracy is hardly tenable. There were certainly no public examination and award of Degrees on modern lines.

The Education Despatch of 1854 of Charleswood was a turning point in the history of education in India. However, it had no marked impact on Orissa. The progress of education both Vernacular and English was verv slow indeed. At a time, when Bengal possessed a University

and several Colleges, there were in Orissa only three English and sixteen Vernacular Schools. The number of pupils on the roll were : Balasore - 80, Cuttack 133 and Puri - 89. There was one Anglo-Vernacular school in Bhadrak which received grant-in-aid of Rs.30 per month from the Government. Besides, there were 16 Vernacular schools in the whole province.[10] In 1852, an English school was set-up in Sambalpur and another in Ganjam.[11]

Orissa did not get any share from the amount set apart by the Government for the development of education. The number of schools in Orissa had to be counted by units. The landed aristocracy did not take any interest to encourage education due to short term settlements with them by the British Government. The public also failed to appreciate the advantages of the new system of education. Many entertain most absurd notions of the intentions of the Government, believing that the children if allowed to attend school, will eventually be taken away from their parents and sent to England.[12] Janardana Mohapatro who joined the medical college in Calcutta after passing the Entrance Examination, was excommunicated for dissecting corpses,[13] Besides conservatism and superstition, the cost of books also led for the disinclination of the boys themselves to benefit by the advantages offered. Henry Ricketts strongly denounced British Government's apathy and negligence in the spread of education in Orissa. He wrote that :

> At the conquest, we found Oreas in a state of degradation and to our shame be it recorded that our policy was to perpetuate the degeneracy which prevailed among them. If schools be established and properly attended to, the ooreas will soon show[14] that degradation is the usual consequence of misrule.

> ... Scarcely a single real Oriya received a salary of more than ten rupees per mensem than several naturalised Bengalis or musalmans. I always give preference to oriyas, but at this moment I scarcely know a single oriya possessing qualification to fit him for being a common scribe.[15]

The Primary education began to spread in Orissa, when efforts were made to bring numerous elementary village schools (Pathashalas) under the inspection of the Departmental authorities. Gradually, the people were attracted to the modern system of education, as indicated by the increased student strength of the schools. R.L.Mitra, the Inspector of schools, South-West Division felt the need of introducing the village Pathasala Scheme of Babu Basu, V Mukherjee, also called the Normal School system.[16] T.E.Ravenshaw, Commissioner of Orissa division advocated for a separate Inspector of Schools for the Orissa Division. At that time, the office of the Inspector of schools, South-West Division was located at Midnapur. He pointed out that one such Officer posted in Orissa would be able to devote his whole attention toward the province introducing Oriya as the medium of instruction.[17] On his recommendation, a Joint School Inspector was appointed for Orissa in 1873 to assist the Inspector in controlling the educational affairs of the Division.[18] Within a couple of years, three Deputy Inspectors were provided for three districts, Balasore, Cuttack and Puri and one Sub-Inspector was attached to each sub-division of a district.[19]

The Education of the masses did not receive real impetus till 1872, when Sir John Campbell took up the matter. He made an attempt to establish a sound system of primary education by introducing certain changes in the

management of these numerous elementary schools. The aim of the scheme was the expansion of primary education by subsidizing village 'Pathasalas' by monthly grants.[20] It also provided the creation of Primary School Scholarships. The rate of Scholarship was Rs.3 a month and was tenable for two years. In 1877-78, the number of schools increased from 2091 to 4579. In the year 1880, the total number of Primary schools rose upto 5464 and the strength of the students was 61,654. Besides that, 1272 schools were established by private donations. The aided schools were properly housed and aimed at fixed standard of instruction. The abadhan felt an obligation to came to the school daily, while previously he feared no superior control and left his pupils for days together.[21] on the 'merit of the new scheme, the Joint Inspector said that :

> Most of the boys, under instruction in Orissa aided 'Pathasalas' might have received education of some kind or other ... and the expenditures of public money under the new system is more than compensated by the permanency it has given, and the progress and discipline it has introduced into Primary Schools.[22]

Inspite of its satisfactory progress, these aided Primary schools encountered certain difficulties. The response from the public was not encouraging in the beginning. The abadhans disuaded the parents from sending their children to Government aided schools. Prejudicial rumours were in circulation regarding the design of the Government.[23] The Deputy Magistrate of "Kendrapara reported that, the people considered English education a means to spread Christianity.[24] In many cases, the pupils have run away and the abadhans closed their

'Pathasalas' at the sight of Sub-Inspector. In certain cases, trained abadhans were rejected by the villagers, because they had taken training in Normal School. Government Schools were looked upon as infidel institutions. Inspector Roer opined that, the people of Orissa were not against the Vernacular Schools, but extreme poverty led to the closure of many aided schools. Many parents were unable to pay for the education of their sons.

Attempt was made to improve the curriculum of the Primary School in 1875. The villagers were made to understand that the desire of the Government was not to supersede but to supplement their private efforts.[25] It also laid down a standard for primary scholarship examination. In 1877, there were 32 scholarships for primary schools and 16 for vernacular schools. Thus, the initial opposition and indifference gradually withered away and the people became more and more responsive to this system. In the progress of primary education in Orissa, the efforts of Inspectors like Roer, Harison, Martin and Commissioners like Goldsbury, Cockburn and T.E.Ravenshaw was commendable. By 1880, there were 5,464 aided primaries with 61,654 pupils in Orissa. There were 1272 unaided schools with 12,891 pupils.[26] In 1887, the number of chief 'Gurus' and inspecting 'Pundits' in Orissa rose upto 92.[27]

Night Schools :

In 1883, a number of Night Schools were established for day labourers, mechanics and artisans. They were classed as upper and lower primary schools, according to the standards taught and most of these schools were conducted by the teachers of day schools with a view to supplement their small income. In 1884, Cuttack had 72

night schools and Puri 14, with an aggregate attendance of 1422 pupils.[28] However, the night schools could not be popular with the people due to lack of proper attention and enthusiasm. By 1900, the number of schools were reduced to 29 with only 424 pupils.[29]

Middle and High English Education :

In May 1822, Reverend Bampton had started an Anglo vernacular school at Cuttack. The Baptist Mission voluntarily handed over the management to Government in 1841. From 1851, the Cuttack School was called Cuttack Zilla School. This institution has become a great seat of learning since that time onwards. On 1 November 1853, two High English Schools were established at Balasore and Puri. Sambalpur Zilia School, started in 1852, and was upgraded in 1885. By establishing an English school at Bamara in 1892, Raja Basudev Sudhal Dev introduced English education in the State.[30] The English school started by Maharaja Krushna Chandra Bhanjadeo of Mayurbhanj at Baripada was raised to High School standard in 1893. In 1872, there were three Higher English Schools, 11 aided Middle English schools, 21 Middle Vernacular schools, one unaided Middle English Schools. The total number of students taught in these schools were 2,527.[31] In 1871, fifteen students passed the Entrance Examination from the three schools in Orissa. Jay Krushna Das Passed in the lst Division.

In 1877, an important change was effected when all Middle English Schools were placed on a Vernacular basis. It became rule that Vernacular was to be the medium of instruction. The Text books were to be in the language of the people and English was to be learnt merely as a

language. The prospects of Secondary education were further improved by the Declaration made in the Government Resolution of 29 July 1878 relating to personal supervision by Inspecting officials.[32]

Higher Education

A new phase was opened in the development of Education in Orissa, when the necessity of opening a college at Cuttack under Calcutta University, was felt by the members of the school committee. E.Burton, the Secretary to the Committee wrote that :

> The Committee sincerely trusts that it will be not long before the institution which promises fair to become the first institution in importance in the province of Orissa, is converted 'into a college. The boys of Orissa labour under peculiar disadvantages. They come upto entrance examination and there is an end to their educational career.[33]

T.E.Ravenshaw, the Commissioner in his first Report on education in Orissa observed that :

> The great desideration in this Division is the establishment of a collegiate class in which young men have successfully completed entrance examination may prosecute their studies ... Ooryas as a race have an indefinable fear of sending their sons to Calcutta, the climate they say being enemical to the health of the native of this province. But the real cause appears to me to be their unwillingness to incur the expense that would attend to support their sons at a distance from home. I would most strongly urge the necessity of establishing a

collegiate class in connection with Cuttack government school .... The class may form the nucleus of a future Cuttack College.[34]

W.W.hunter, the Inspector of School expressed great .satisfaction with the results of Cuttack Zilla School and said that the time had come for the promotion of collegiate education in Orissa.[35]

'Utkal Dipika' in its weekly news welcomed the efforts of the Gentlemen and gave a call to all the rich and aristocratic people of orissa to liberally donate and patronise the Educational Institutions.[36]

After careful examination of the views of local authorities, the Director of Public Instruction recommended the opening of a collegiate class in Cuttack Zilla School, as a preparatory step towards the foundation of a college for Orissa. Sir Cecil Beadon, the Lieutenant Governor accepted the scheme and in February 1867 sent it for the sanction of the Government of India. In April 1867, the Government of India sanctioned Rs.12,000 per annum to Cuttack Zilla School with the view of placing the institution on the footing of a college of the lower class to supply the means of obtaining University education in the province of Orissa. Consequently, the Cuttack Zilla School was converted in January 1868 into collegiate school.[37] At first six undergraduates who all passed at the last entrance examination from schools in Orissa joined the class. R.L.Martin, the Inspector of Schools remarked that if there was no college class at Cuttack, only one of the six would have joined an affiliated college in Bengal and the remainder would have had to content themselves with the amount of learning already acquired.[38]

It was a small beginning. The classes were started as an experimental measure for five years. T.E.Ravenshaw accepted the conditions on behalf of the people of Orissa and arranged a fund of Rs.30,000 from donations for the, matching grant of the Government, S.Ager, Joint Inspector of Schools was appointed as the first Principal on the recommendation of the Commissioner of Orissa Division. The College prepared the students for the F.A. Examinations under Calcutta University. B.A. classes were opened in January 1879. There were altogether 19 students in the beginning. But during the first two years, no student from Cuttack College could pass the B.A. examination. But in 1880, Durga Charan Sahu passed the examination and was placed in 3rd Division. To celebrate his success; the Principal closed the College for one day.[39] Maharaja Sriramchandra Bhanjadeo the ruler of Mayurbhanj donated Rs.20,000 for the expansion of the Cuttack College which was renamed as Ravenshaw College according to his suggestion.[40] In 1881, the College which had hitherto been experimental, was placed on a permanent basis. The Law Department was attached to the College in 1881. In 1891, M.A. classes were opened. In 1899, Abhiram Bhanja passed the M.A. Examination in English.

In spite of the initial set backs, the establishment of Ravenshaw College opened the avenues of higher education to the local People. They were introduced to the treasures of western knowledge and developed self consciousness.

Technical Education :

With the spread of general education, the people felt the necessity of opening technical institutions in Orissa.

In 1889, an Industrial School was opened in a village called Alabpur in the district of Balasore.[41] Though the Institution was useful for carpentry and needle work, it took rather the character of workshop then of an organised school for industrial education. The Comissioner of Orissa observed that :

> To raise the standard of local handicrafts, to encourage the development of such vestiges of the artistic skills manifested in the temples of Orissa, would be a worthy objects.[42]

The Balasore Technical School was managed by Rev. Griffin, a Baptist Missionary. In 1892, the District Boards of Cuttack, Puri and Balasore created few scholarships for the purpose of enabling some oriya youths to receive training at Jobra workshop Sibpur Engineering College and the Calcutta School of Art. An important step towards the progress of education was taken, when a Medical School and a Survey School were established at Cuttack. The Survey School at Cuttack latter on grew up into the Cuttack Engineering School in 1923. Under the management of Dr.Steward, the Civil Surgeon of the locality and his successor Lt.Col. J.M,Zoral the Cuttack Medical School not only supplied doctors to several hospitals and dispensaries in Orissa, but also trained efficient nurses. Thus, the foundation of the future Medical College was laid.[43]

Female Education :

The female education in Orissa made a beginning under the initiative of missionaries. They felt that if the women will be literate, then they can change their personality as women as well as wife and mother. The

progress was very slow. The Joint Inspector of Schools reported on female education in 1874 that :

> If by female education we mean a little reading and writing, here are more educated women in Orissa than perhaps in any other part of Bengal... The people do not object to give education of some kind to their daughters, but the idea of sending them to Public schools, to which public have access and will have to mix with the girls of all classes, is revolting to their feelings and prejudices... We do not find single oriya, Hindu or Muslim girl of a respectable family in any of our middle or Higher class schools.[44]

The highest standard which girl's schools reached in Orissa was the lower vernacular scholarship standard. It was in 1882 that some girls appeared for M.E. Examination. It was in 1897, that two women took admission in Ravenshaw College. The conservatism of parents, the system of early marriage, scarcity of female teachers and want of adequate state aid presented an insurmountable barrier on the smooth progress of female education.[45] However, female education has nevertheless made a very remarkable advance during the quinquennium, the number of girls under instruction both in girls' schools and boys' schools, having much more than doubled.[46]

Language Controversy :

Oriya language, oriya script and oriya literature have their origin in the hoary past. Like Bengalee and Assamese, Oriya too is a member of Eastern Or Magadhi group of the IndoGermanic family of languages in India. Oriya is spoken today by about 16 million people who are spread along the North Eastern Sea coast of India. The total area

of the Oriya speaking land may roughly be about 80,000 square miles.[47] Beginning from 15th century A.D., the Oriya literature has been enriched by the mighty pen of eminent writers and poets like Sarala Das, Baladev Rath, Brajanath Badajena and host of others.

But it is unfortunate that a movement against the Oriya language was started by certain persons during the middle of 19th century. An important issue which deeply disturbed the Oriya elite and consequently aroused a strong sense of national consciousness was the attempt of the Bengalees to prove that Oriya was a mere dialect of Bengali, and therefore should be replaced by the latter in offices and schools and the medium of instruction. Until, the British Government started taking some interest in the development of the region, particularly after the Great Famine, the de facto rulers were people from Bengal. In fact the Bengalis who had chosen to settle in Orissa since the 15th century had adopted themselves so well in Orissa that, a few of their descendants were to become champions of the Oriya nationalist movement, in later years. But those who came during 19th century had a completely different grooming.[48] They were first brought to Orissa by British Government to serve under the exigencies of the situation because of their familarity with the British system of administration. They had also received,English education in a progressive climate due to early British settlement in Bengal. It is therefore natural that when they came to Orissa to serve, they came with a supercilious attitude. [49] They found great employment opportunity as the local people were no match for them. Their homeland however presented a picture of a contrast, where the unemployment problem had already cropped up and competition was keen. A sequel to all this was that the ones who came also manoeuvred to bring in

their relatives and the process continued.[50] Facilities were made available to educate their children in Bengali and accordingly schools were staffed and text books were brought from Bengal. In Orissa proper, Oriya text books were few and teachers too were in short supply.

When the local people were forced to study through Bengali medium in the heart of their homeland, some of the enlightened and educated Oriyas were able to visualise the problem. They knew that without sufficient reading materials, it would be impossible to fight for the cause of oriya nationalism. The impetus given to the vernacular teaching in Orissa now generated an apprehension among the Bengalis. They were afraid that once the local people started-receiving higher education, they (oriyas) would pose a threat to their economic and social status. They tried to prevail upon the Education Department that the medium of instruction in oriya in Orissa would be a disastrous experiment considering the fact that there were quite a huge number of Bengalis in Orissa for whom it would be more convenient to have only the Bengali medium and further that, there was hardly any text book in the local language. The Government in Bengal after receiving the recommendation of the Director of Education and the Inspector in Orissa, requested the Commissioner of Orissa to enquire into the matter.[51] The Inspector of Schools western circle, in his Report dated 27 June 1849 suggested that Bengali be the medium of instruction in the Vernacular Schools of Orissa, as sufficient Oriya text-books are not available. Bowing, Collector of Cuttack introduced Bengali medium at the Kendrapara and Mahasinghpur Vernacular Schools, In 1859 Rev. Long advocated Bengali medium of instruction valuable to the common people for elementary education. He wrote :

It will be much easier for the Oriyas who wish to acquire knowledge to gain it through Bengali, a kindred language.[52]

He further observed that both in Assam and Orissa, Government teaches Bengali to the highest classes in the schools,

The Utkal Dipika lamented that, the Government which was responsible for fostering education in this neglected province, should be conceding to the suggestions of the other officials. Moreover, the problems of insufficient text books in the local vernacular language was not so acute as it was made out to be and that it was the Government who were responsible for the poor show with regard to the text books.[53] Many English officials also supported the cause of the Oriya language wholeheartedly, Medlicolf, the Inspector of Schools reported that students prefer Oriya language in their examination. In June 1863, R.N.Shore pointed out to the great injustice involved in the proposal. T.E.Ravenshaw, drew the attention of the Government of Bengal to the utter neglect of the Oriya language in the advanced classes of the schools in Orissa. He urged that, the Bengali outsiders should learn the local language and if any body was interested in a foreign language he could come to the English school to learn. Mr. Ravenshaw further commented that earlier, a complete introduction of Oriya language had been difficult because Oriya text books were not in plenty, but now that the problem seemed to have been circumvented and it was no more necessary to continue with a Second language apart from Oriya.[54] There upon, the Government of Bengal wrote to the D.P.I., the Commissioner of Orissa and the Inspector of Schools to state their views on the remedy of this state

of affairs. Thus, there arose a great controversy regarding the extent to which the oriya language should be employed in the schools of Orissa.[55] A concerted attempt by some Bengalis viz., Rajendra Lal Mitra, the historian, Umeschandra Haldar, the Deputy Inspector of Schools and Kantilal Bhattacharya, Deputy Inspector of Schools at Balasore was made to abolish Oriya language from the Schools of Orissa.

Rajendra Lal Mitra, an eminent Bengali scholar had compiled a book on the Antiquities of Orissa under Government patronage. "This elated the Oriyas as to them, it was an indication of the Government's as well as Bengali's appreciation of their great cultural heritage. But the situation became different due to some unfortunate remarks of Mitra in one of his speeches in Cuttack. He pointed out that the Oriyas were injuring themselves by their attachment to Oriya language, which, in his opinion, was derived from Bengali. He further mentioned that as long as Oriya language was not abolished, there would not be any progress of the land. He even went on elaborating and emphasizing his point.[56] Mitra asserted that the population of Orissa being only 20 lakhs, it would be an absurdity to maintain a separate language for them. He further argued that if Bengali could successfully replaced Oriya in the district of Midnapore then it should be equally potent in other districts as well. He revealed that while in Bengal 300 books were written and published in the preceding *three years*, only three to four books had been published in Orissa.[57]

This had an immediate impact both on his own fellow men and on Oriyas at large, though the nature of the impact was different on the two groups. The Oriyas were incensed

by such arguments and refuted the veracity in Mitra's contention by pointing out that the figure of 20 lakhs accounted for only the Mughul-bandi areas, where as a big section of oriya-speaking population lived in Midnapore in the North,Ganjam in the South and Sambalpur in the West.[58] As regards his citing the example of Midnapore, they argued that here was a blatant admission of the wrongs done and instead of seeking to make amends, further injustice was being perpetrated. On this issue, the Utkal Dipika of Gouri Shankar Ray and Utkal Hitaishini of Kalipada Banerjee entered upon a hostile press campaign. Mitra retorted the criticism by pointing out that, the first two paragraphs of an article in which the editor of Utkal Dipika condemned my theory of Bengali origin of the Oriya language contains 42 words of which 37 are Bengali, or derived from Bengali and five are English.[59] It is a pity that such a statement was made by an erudite scholar. He forgot that the same arguement may be advanced to prove the Oriya derivation of Bengali. His remark about the abolition of Oriya language was apparently based on the wrong information that was fed to him by the Bengalis in Orissa, as Mitra himself admitted before M.S.Das, an eminent oriya leaders later on.[60] In defence of Oriya language, Gouri Sankar Ray, Editor of Utkal Dipika raised weighty arguments. He laid bare the Machiavellian plans by the vested interests to abolish the Oriya language. In Utkal Hitaisini (periodical of the domiciled Bengalis), attempts were tried to sell the idea that earlier to Chaitanya, there was no Oriya work and even Sarala Das, the author of oriya Mahabharata wrote under his influence.[61]

In 1870, Kanti Chandra Bhattacharya, a teacher of Balasore School wrote a booklet justifying Oriya was not a separate language. John Beams in an article criticised

the booklet, which in his opinion was profoundly destitute of philological arguments.[62] He had written earlier that, when the case of Oriya comes to be considered, it must be remembered that it is spoken not only by 5 millions in the settled and civilized districts of the sea-coast, but by an uncounted and widely dispersed mass of wild tribes in the vast tracts of mountains which covers hundreds of miles in land and extends as far west as Nagpur and South as Telengana. Moreover, it is far beyond the power of handful of English and Bengalis settled in Orissa to stamp out the mother tongue of all these millions.[63]

A number of European officers also came to the rescue of the language, when it was passing through a critical period. Finding out the difference of Oriya language from Bengali, L.S.S.O. Malley pointed out that :

> Oriya language has got one great advantage over Bengali in the fact that, as a rule it is pronounced as it is spelt. There are few of these slurred consonants and broken vowels which make Bengali so difficult to the foreigner .... The Oriya verbal system is at once simple and complete. It has a long array of tenses, but the whole is so logically arranged, and built on so regular a model, that its principles are particularly noticeable for the very complete set of verbal nowns, present, past and future.[64]

The Oriya language was akin to Bengali in as much as they were both derived from the original Sanskrit. But in all the particles and inflections of the nowns and verbs they varied. John Beams wrote that :

> We are bound to fight tooth and nail against the Bengali theory by upholding the speech of landfolk

and helping them to purify and improve it, to render it impossible for interested persons to establish any barrier between the free intercourse of all classes of society.[65]

Fakir Mohan Senapati who was then a mere primary school teacher at Balasore, spearheaded a movement against the Clandestine onslaught on Oriya language by some Bengalis of Balasore. In his autobiography he says :

At that time, to the good fortune of the Oriyas, all the British officials and the English Christian Missionaries were in our favour. They all supported our counter move.[66]

Fakir Mohan thus saved his mother tongue from the impending linguistic guillotine by the neighbours and proved himself as the real 'Senapati' of his race.[67]

The Lieutenant Governor accepted the view of all officials and announced that in all schools in the Province of Orissa upto Zilla Schools, the Oriya language should be the medium of instruction, and that in Zilla School and High School at Cuttack it should be optional with all students to continue their studies in Oriya language, if they wished it. Ravenshaw further suggested the Lieutenant Governor for the adoption of Oriya language as the only medium in the schools of Orissa. Government of Bengal accepted his view and authorised him to use his discretion about excluding Bengaii from the schools in Orissa.[68] Thereupon, Ravenshaw wrote letter to the Magistrates of the three districts, stating that "Pesistent and potent exclusion of the Bengali language and of teachers who are not familiar with the ooriah vernacular is expected for the progress and popularity of education in Orissa".[69] Thus,

the language controversy fizzled out in Orissa leading indirectly to the growth of Oriya language and literature.

Oriya language suffered from similar porsecution in Ganjam and Sambalpur. Ganjam was under the Madras Presidency. It was once the centre of oriya literature and culture. Great Oriya poets like Upendra Bhanja and Kavisurya Baladeva Rath had enriched the Oriya literature. All the Zamindars of Ganjam and Koraput districts maintained matrimonial relationship with the feudatory chiefs and zamindars of Orissa.[70] In 1870, Janardan Das of Ghumsar complained that the Oriyas were harashly treated by the Telugus in the offices.[71] To ventilate the grievances of the Oriyas, William Mohanty started an Oriya weekly, named Swadeshi in 1876. He complained that oriya was not used in the offices.[72] on popular demands, Madras University recognised the independent status of Oriya language by making it a subject of study. In 1890, the Government of Madras recognised Oriya as the official language in Ganjam.[73] Since then the people of Ganjam began to agitate for their union with Orissa under the leadership of Harihara Mardaraj Deo, the Raja of Khallikote and Maharaja Krushna Chandra Gajapati., the Raja of Parlakhemundi.

Similar agitation was found among the people of Sambalpur who were attached to the Central Provinces. On 15 January 1895, John Woodburn the Chief Commissioner of Central Provinces, declared that Oriya shall be replaced by Hindi as official language of Sambalpur in order to facilitate the transfer of officials within the province.[74] It was argued that Oriya language in the Sambalpur district was mixed with Hindi and, Chhattisgarhi and hence the Hindi speaking people did not

face any difficulty to understand it. It was stated, "the people of Sambalpur have to learn Oriya for their family, Hindi for the purpose of court and English for their welfare. They were being forced to three languages instead of two. The people of Sambalpur decided to appeal to the British Parliament against the decisions of the Chief Commissioner of Central Provinces. Prominent persons like Braja Mohan Patnaik, Balabhadra Supakar, Mohanta Bihari Das, and Sripati Mishra moved from village to village to create public opinion against the Government's move. In the meeting of Orissa Association held at Cuttack with Madhusudan Das on the Chair, it was resolved to send a petition to the Government of India against the order of the Chief Commissioner.[75] The mammoth protest meeting at Sambalpur on 13 June 1895 was presided over by Dharanidhara Mishra. A delegation was sent to Simla in August 1901. 'M.S.Das, President of Utkal Sabha sent a telegram to the Private Secretary to the Viceroy on 2 September 1901 drawing the attention of Lord Curzon to the impolitic and impractical order of the Government of Central Provinces.[76] The Ganjam Oriyas sympathised with the people of Sambalpur and appealed to the Government to reconsider its decision. Being urged by the memorialists, A.Fraser, the new Chief Commissioner visited Sambalpur and appreciated the feelings of the people and ordered the restoration of Oriya as the court language in 1901.[77] He also recommended that on account of ethnical and linguistic differences between Sambalpur and Central Provinces, the former should be transferred to Orissa.[78]

While the spread of education, both vernacular and English, gave birth to an enlightened Middle Class, the language issue awakened the Oriyas from deep slumber. A German disciple of Rousseau, Herder had thought that

each man could be himself only by thinking and creating in his own mother tongue and the rights of nationality were above all, the rights of language.[79] It was this trait of the linguistic nationalism that became most evident during the early phase of the struggle in Orissa. No other Indian language had to struggle so hard for its very existence, nor has suffered such losses through the linguistic aggressiveness of its neighbours.

Printing Press :

Much before the advent of missionaries and the establishment of Printing Press in Orissa, a peculiar kind of news manuscript was being circulated by an Oriya saint called Sadhu Sunder Das, from the village Kujibar near Chaudar in Cuttack district. 'Kujibar Patra'discussed religious, social and even matters relating to administration. His writings often found a place in Britain's 'Baptist Journal'. John Brown Meyers has paid a glowing tribute to Sadhu Sundar Das in the centenary volume of the Baptist Missionary society. But not a single copy of this weekly has so far came to the limelight of scholars. Prior to the establishment of the Printing Press, the entire literature was lying on palm leaves, inscribed with an iron stylus by the patient and pious labour of devoted scribes. The language agitation in Orissa opened up a new epoch in its history. With the linguistic nationalism beginning to blossom, the educated people started exploring other possibilities to bolster up their stand. The necessary outcome of the spirit of liberation has been the active Press. The Christian missionaries were the pioneers in starting a Press in Orissa. Their main purpose was to translate the Bible into Oriya, which were previously being printed at Sreerampore Press of Calcutta.

In order to render valuable services for the propagation of their religion, they set up the Mission Press in Cuttack.[81] Since,the missionaries became interested in their sectarian activities, the need for an indigenous press was keenly felt in order to ventilate the interests, aspirations and grievances of the people.[82] With Official support and encouragement, Bichitrananda Das established the Cuttack Printing Press in 1866.[83] It published a weekly named Utkal Dipika, and the editor was Gouri Sankar Ray. Fakir Mohan Senapati established Utkal Press at Balasore,[84] The Sambad Vahika was its publication to voice the public opinion. The De's Press was set up in Balasore by Raja Baikuntha Nath De and he published a Journal called Utkal Darpana.[85]

By the close of 19th century, as many as 16 Printing Presses had appeared in Orissa. The most important of them were Utkal Hitaishini Press of Kalipada Banerjee at Cuttack, the Victoria Press at Cuttack managed by Jagannath Rao, the Sudhal Press of Bamra started by Raja Vasudev Sudhal Dev and the Mayurbhanj Press at Baripada.[86] Awakening in Orissa received a great impetus by the circulation of vernacular newspapers and periodicals. They became powerful instruments of political education of the enlightened middle class and accelerated the growth of people's consciousness.

To meet the demand of oriya text books, a Committee known as the Cuttack Oriya School Book Society was appointed in October 1869 with the purpose of reporting on original works and translations in the Oriya language. In 1880, the examination and selection of Text books for authorised use in Schools of Orissa, were entrusted to a Committee known as Orissa Text Book Committee. [87] The

Printing Press also was rescued from oblivion and got encouragement from the government and local enterprise for the spread of education. The Christian Missionaries began to play a vital role in the field of new literary movement. Carey Marshman and ward, the trio first of all thought of translating the religious scriptures of Bible into Oriya. The Baptist mission translated the Bible and Hebrew poems in Oriya language and printed them at Sreerampore mission Press. The books printed by the missionaries are *Oriya English dictionary* by Mohan Thakur (1811), *Oriya Bible* by Carey and a tract on the futility of worship of Jaggannath. [88] Sutton also wrote *Padartha Vidyasagar* in 1832. 'Friend of India' reported that, "we have received a copy of a tract, printed at Cuttack press which the Missionaries have established this year at that station. It is printed in Oriya character and for neatness of execution is not exceeded by any similar broucher which has issued from metropolitan Presses in Calcutta. It does no little credit to those, to whose feelings of public spirit and Christian benevolence, the district is now indebted for an efficient Press...... It is delightful therefore to contemplate the rapid increase in the means of intellectual and religious improvement through means of this mighty engine in the various and even remote provinces of this empire. We rejoice that a Press has been established in that country, capable of executing any work in the Oriya language and character." A list of Oriya text books is found in the Report of the Education Department, 1857-58, they are *English Oriya Grammar, Padartha Vidyasagar* (1832), *Itihasa Pustak* (1839), *Oriya Abhidhan* (1841), *Oriya Vyakarana, Bhugola Bibarana* (1839) and *Nitikatha* (1840).[89] These books were not prepared according to the age groups of school-going children. There was no

systematic planning in the preparation of the Text books. The financial assistance from the government was not encouraging. As most of the books were the translation of Bengali texts, it killed the originality of Oriya language and led to the impact of Bengali language on oriya literature. The subject matter of study was not relevant to the students of Orissa. The social picture of Bengal was reflected in these writings.

But, the establishment of Printing Presses and Book Societies began to give new orientation to language, expression and contents of the text books by the educated people of Orissa. The prominent local people were Bicchand Pattanaik, Jagmohan, Govind Chandra Patnaik, Ghanasyam Mishra, Fakir Mohan, Pyari Mohan Sen and others. In the year 1869-70, Bicchand Pattnaik's *Sita Vanavasa, Utkal Vyakarana*, Fakir Mohan's *Anka Mala*, *Bharativarsara Itihasa;* Pyari Mohan's *Sisu Patha*, Prabhakar Chudamani's, *Padyamala*, Govind Chandra's *Vyakarana Kaumudi* were published and became popular with the students.[90] One significant trend is noticed on the publication of oriya books during this period, i.e. the consciousness of the Oriyas about the richness of their language. Bhagirathi Mohindra Bahadur, the Maharaja of Dhenkanal placed Rs.9,000 with Cuttack School Committee in order to give encouragement to the writers of Oriya text books.[91] Utkal Dipika pointed out that the scholars of Oriya literature will now come-forward to write good books with the hope of getting reward.[92] With the growth of Oriya text books, the Oriya literature was enriched. The Oriya scholars were influenced by the new trends, which found expression in the writings of Radhanath, Fakir Mohan and Madhusudan, the great 'Trio' of modern Oriya literature.

With the spread of education, a perceptible progress appears to have been made in the foundation of cultural societies. It is not easy to trace the origin of these institutions. They, however, developed out of social gatherings of eminent persons or from educational and welfare committees. [93] Utkal Bhasa Unnati Bidhayini Sabha (Balasore), Utkal Bhasa Uddipani Sabha (Cuttack, Utkal Ullasini Sabha (Cuttack) were amongst the few. The Cuttack Public Library was setup in 1859.[94] In January 1867, was established the Cuttack School Book Society.[95] Maharaja Sriram Chandra Bhanja Deo established a big public Library at Baripada in 1889.[96] The Fraser Club and the Fraser Library at Sambalpur were set up in 1905.[97] Besides, Cuttack Society, Cuttack Debating Club, Cuttack Youngman Literary Association were started to promote cultural understanding. They played an important role in the diffusion of knowledge among the elite. The Utkal Sahitya Samaj which was established in 1903, marked the renaissance in oriya literature.

The growth of people's consciousness has also been attributed to the discovery of orissa's past glory and culture. The antiquities and monuments, as evidences of past greatness, inspired the 19th century European and Indian scholars to work on Orissa History.[98] The Hatigumpha inscription of King Kharavela first attracted the attention of A.Stirling. His account (geographical, statistical and historical) of Orissa proper or Cuttack was first published in the Asiatic Researches.[99] His research work on Orissa encouraged W.W.Hunter who published a scholarly work on the History of Orissa in 2 Volumes in 1872. Beam's, "More Buddhist remains in Orissa and the History of Orissa under the Mohemadan,Maratha, and English Rule" were published in 1882.[100] These three

English scholars did valuable researches on Orissan History in depicting and linking together the dynastic, political and cultural movements of Orissa'. They were responsible to inspire other Indian Scholars such as R.D.Banerjee, Rajendralal Mitra, Peary Mohan Acharya, M.M.Ganguly and others to explore the glorious past of Orissa.

New Dimension in Literature :

The 19th century was a formative period in the history of Oriya literature.[101] An analysis of the contemporary Oriya literature shows that the poets, writers and play wrights played no less an important a role to arouse national consciousness in Orissa.[102] Till the beginning of the Printing Press, there was no prose in Oriya except the Madala Panji, the chronicle of Jagganath temple. Oriya poetry concerned itself mainly with the religious topics. The literary efflorescence in other parts of India was primarily due to the contact with the west. As Orissa revolted against British within a few years of conquest, there was apathy and indifference on the part of the Britishers towards the people of Orissa. The new Tenancy Laws including the notorious 'Sunset Law' practically uprooted the Orissan nobility and ruined the economic conditions of the peasantry. It has still more to be regreted that Bengali officials, who assisted the Britishers in administration, carried a propaganda that Oriya language is a dialect of Bengali and introduced Bengali in all the schools in Orissa. It was natural, thus, that without much forceful external influence for change, modern trends began in an indigenous way from 1822-1872. But, by the time, the linguistic guillotine was being set up for the Oriyas in Calcutta, Orissa had thrown up a

brilliant son, to spearhead the Oriya opposition. He was Fakir Mohan Senapati, the father of modern nationalism in Orissa and of modern oriya literature. It marked the beginning of the renaissance in Oriya literature which is said to have begun with Fakir Mohan Senapati.[103] Thanks to the genius of the man that the Oriya language was saved from political death.

The story of Fakir Mohan Senapati (1847-1918) is indeed the story of the renaissance of Oriya literature in the 19th century. Fakir Mohan translated the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, into Oriya, composed hymns and poems and culminated his literary career in writing novels. Full of broad humour and biting satire, his book *Utkala Bhramana* (Travels in Oiissa) created a sense of unity among the oriyas. He composed a series of patriotic songs such as *Utkalbhumi, Janmabhumi, Utkala Jananira Ahwana, Chhinnabhinna Utkal, Matrubhumi* and *Utkal Sangita*. Describing the dismembered condition of Utkal, Fakir Mohan pointed out that as long as the outlying Oriya tracts were not amalgamated, all our efforts would be in vain. [104] The charm of his description lay in the masterly assimilation of satire and humour, pathos and delight, realities and actualities of life, as well as the ultimate moral which the plot conveyed. The best social novels of Fakir Mohan are *Chhamana Athagunth, Mamu, Prayaschitta* and *Lachhma*.

In poetry, the modern age began with Radhanath Ray and Madhusudan Rao.Radhanath (1848-1907) brought out poetry from its medieval atmosphere and established it on a sound modern footing. His description of nature and the landscape were superb. His *Chilika a lyric, Mahayatra* a Kavya are master pieces of Oriya literature. His *Shivaginka*

Vtsanavani-, Amarshivani and *Darabara* are full of patriotic fervour. For the first time, nature in Orissa spoke and became an integral part of Orissa's national consciousness through the romantic poetry of Radhanath.[105] He gave poetry a touch of sublimity and his purpose was to direct the tender emotion of man towards loftier ideals.

Madhusudan Rao (1853-1912) is Orissa's great modern spiritual poet. The similar theme of the past greatness and present degradation is found in his songs. His poems such as *Janmabhumi* and *Prithviprati* had mainly been composed to awaken the national spirit of the students.[106] His songs, lyrics, odes, sonnets and essays have exercised an excellent purifying influence on the minds of the young pupils of Orissa. His essays set up a high standard in literary criticism. Thus, the magnificent Trio became life long friends and each of them ushered in fresh trends in Oriya literature.[107] The Folk plays in Orissa under eminent dramatists like Baishnava Pani, Jagmohan Lal, Ramsankar Ray and Bhikari Charan Patnaik not only praised, criticised and satirised, but also were replete with intrinsic literary merit.[108]

Social Awakening :

The introduction of English language broke the barrier which had hitherto effectively shut Orissa from the western ideas. Upto the first decade of 19th century social life was stagnant and the social institutions, customs and practices assumed a rigid and petrified form. The interpreters of religion were the Brahmans, who always tried to maintain the statusquo. They were never at a loss of sacred text which can be quoted as a sanction for

established custom. However, the intervention of Europeans with an aggressive enterprising mercantilism, the feudal structure succumbed to the growing western capitalism. There began a collective resistance to the prevailing social abuses due to critical attitude towards religion and a spirit of enquiry into the social conventions. The most important result was the replacement of blind faith in current tradition by a spirit of rationalism which seeks to enquire and argue before accepting anything. The revolt of the mind against tyranny of dogmas and traditional authorities, beliefs and customs, is the first requisite for freedom of thought and coinscience which lies at the root of progress in social, religious and political spheres of life.[109] The social reform movement has been called a 'key' to the intellectual processes of modern India.[110]

Orissa, remaining under the Muslims and Marahattas for centuries, had developed an apathy towards the lot of the women. The system of denying Hindu women any right to paternal property made them economically dependent on men . Almost every parent makes his daughter an article of traffic.[111] The dictum that the wife ought to revere her husband as a God, even if he were vicious and void of any merit, was accepted as a norm of behaviour pattern and triumphantly idolized in the 'Pativarta Dharma'. All these attitudes and disabilities resulted in a number of abominable practices like infanticide, child marriage, polygamy, 'Goti' (bonded labour), permanent widowhood and dual standard of morality with regard to male and female behaviour.

The female infanticide was common in the territory of Jeypore and in Sorada and Sankhimedi Maliahs of

Ganjam district. The expense attending the marriage rites is said to be the motive of this cruel custom.[112] The birth of a girl is not welcomed even in higher families. But with the spread of western ideas and culture, the people started giving equal status to girls with those of the boys. The Brahamins due to their interpretation of the 'Sastras' and the lower and middle class people due to general insecurity, followed the practice of early marriage. This resulted in the widowhood of a number of girls before they had marital life. It was primarily due to the undaunted courage of Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar that Hindu Widow's Remarriage Act (Act IV of 1856) was passed on 26 July 1856. It legalised the marriage of widows not with standing any custom or interpretation of Hindu law and declared that the children of such marriages are legitimate. The campaign against the 'Sati' system (burning of widows in the funeral pyre of their husbands) resulted in its abolition on 4 December 1829.[113]

The economic life of the people of Orissa was mainly conditioned by geographical, physical and climatic factors on the onehand, and by social organizations, age old customs and religious faith on the other. The peasant, the artisan and the trader with their age worn devotion to agriculture, craft and business, remained the main spring of Orissan economy. The immobile peasant had no incentive for material prosperity. The craftsmen and the artisans did not try to create greater demand for his goods. Other economic groups in the society like weavers, carpenters and blacksmiths depended on agriculturist for their economic sustenance. Before the devastating famine of 1866, there was neither a good metalled road nor railway system in Orissa. The Famine Commission reported that,

there was also no good harbour in the long coast of Orissa. The sea ports of Balasore, Dhamra point palmyrus, False Point, Puri etc had considerabily declined. In 1874, the people of Balasore appealed to Richard Temple, Lt.Governor of Bengal for the construction of railway line in Orissa. Baikuntha Nath De submitted a printed application for this purpose.[114] 'Utkal Sabha' pointed out that the isolated position of the Division was due to the lack of good communication.[115]

In 1890, George Toynbee, the Commissioner of Orissa, strongly advocated the extension of the East coast and B.N.Railways to Orissa.[116] Shortly afterwards, the Government undertook the work of survey and permitted the Railway Companies to begin the construction of railway line in Orissa upto Puri. It was completed in 1898. This helped to reduce caste prejudices and break economic isolation. It also gave mobility to the otherwise static social system.

There was no leading trade or manufacture in the province. Orissa had a tradition of small-scale industries in a number of articles like textile, salt and metal work. During 19th century, only salt of the best and purest kind was manufactured in the Province. But Government monopoly gave a death blow to this trade. It is at the cost of Orissa that a belt of industries developed on the banks of Hoogly. But towards the latter part of 19th century, modern industries were struggling to take shape. The new wave of industries and trade brought a newkind of social arrangement in the Province. Better communication system proved to be a potential instrument for social liberalism and national unity. The social and economic life of the people was moulded according to this new change.

Reform Movements

There is no denying the fact that the English education brought about a great change in social, economic and religious outlook. But, it would be wrong to assume that the revolution which took place in the realm of thought and ideas and brought this transformation were wholly western. In fact, the main architects of this revolution were a band of social reformers, who drew upon the Vedas and Upanishads as freely as on the sources of western ideas and thought. A galaxy of social reformers like Sadhu Sundar Das, Bhima Bhoi, Mahesh Chandra Ray, Madhusudan Rao, Bichhand Charan Patnaik, Gouri Sankar Ray, Madhusudan Das, Biswanath Kar, Radhanath Ray, Fakir Mohan Senapati and a host of others made courageous effort to uplift the people of Orissa from the abyss of superstition and created consciousness among the people in order to ameleorate their grievances. In fact, they created public opinion in favour of social reform. Sadhu Sundar Das expounded the principles of non-violence and made disciples regardless of caste distinction. During 19th century, Mahima Movement was started by Mahima Gosain. The followers of Mahima cult, believed in the adoration of 'Alekha Parama Brahma'. They laid sufficient stress on disciplined habits and did not recognise caste, creed and colour. The socio-religious movement, initiated by Ram Mohan Ray in Bengal, had some influence on Orissa. Prasanna Kumar Chatterjee, a writer of 'Nimakmaha' Balasore, organised a Brahmo church in the Mayurbhanj house.[117]

A Brahmo Samaj was established at Cuttack by Mahesh Chandra Ray in December 1864.[118] The 'Utkal Brahmo Samaj was established by Professor Haranath

Bhattacharya, also at Cuttack in 1870.[119] Brahmo movement also spread to other parts of Orissa owing to the efforts of Madhu Sudan Rao, Dinanath Bhattacharya, Nandalal, Rajmohan and Biswanath Kar.[120] The Cuttack youngmen's Association,[121] organised in 1869, aimed at arranging debates to carry on social reforms. Laxminarayan Choudhury played an important role in its foundation. In 1882, the 'Cuttack College Student's Association' and in 1888, the 'Orissa Graduate and Undergrduates Association' were set up to give a filip to social reform movement. They condemned caste system, demand of dowries, child marriage and advocated widow-remarriage.[122] Many of the alumni of the Cuttack College played an important role in the Oriya renaissance and formed the progressive element in the intellectual life of the people.[123] They took keen interest to foster socio-political consciousness through meetings, discussions and circulation of pamphlets.

Public Associations and the growth of Political Consciousness in Orissa :

The crusade against the social evils was organised by the intelligent minority through socio-religious movements and newspapers and periodicals. But, there was a great limitation of advancement of these new ideas due to the dichotomy in the advance of ideas and the lack of institutional transformation. Gradually, Orissa developed a number of institutions to give shelter to the new ideas. Yet, Orissa was far behind than its neighbours in the growth of political organisations. 'When eighteen such associations were active in Calcutta during the first half of the 19th century, Orissa had any worth of recognition. In 1870, Ravenshaw's attempts to unite all the associations

with a view to forming the Orissa Society failed.[124] There was no response, when a branch of National Society of Calcutta, was set up at Cuttack. In 1872, the Ganjam Utkal 'Hita Vadini Sabha' was founded by William Mohanty at Berhampur. The people of Cuttack, Puri and Balasore warmly welcomed the foundation of 'Indian Association' at Calcutta by Surendranath Banerjee, but, no regular branch of it was formed in Orissa. [125] However, a number of organisations emerged in different parts of mutilated Orissa to champion the cause of Oriya people. They are 'Utkal Bhasaunnati Bidhyani Sabha' (Balasore), 'Utkal Bhasa Uddipani Sabha' (Cuttack), 'Utkal Ullasini Sabha' (Cuttack), 'Cuttack Society', Cuttack Debating Club', 'Cuttack Youngmen Literary Association', 'Sikshra Bidhika Sabha', 'Temperance and Suppression of Bribery Association', 'Utkal Mitabadini Sabha' (Berhampur), 'Orissa People's Association', etc. No doubt, they revealed the varied spheres of activities - Literary, social, educational, linguistic and religious, besides the political aspirations of the people. Their primary objective was to watch and advocate the interest of the Oriyas largely focussing on local, in preference to general and political questions.

Towards the latter part of 19th century, there was a great awakening among the people of Orissa who rose from deep slumber to be united racially, economically and culturally. Before, the foundation of Indian National Congress, a regional association called 'Utkal Sabha' had came up in Orissa like that of National Conference of Calcutta (1881), Mahajan Sabha in Madras and Bombay Presidency Association in Bombay. 'Utkal Sabha' started in, 1882 with Gouri Sankar Ray as the Secretary. In the beginning its main objective was the consideration of the

best means of introducing local-self Government. In a large public meeting at Cuttack on 30 June 1882, the Speakers expressed their gratitude to Lord Ripon for his benevolent measure and desired that the people should elect their representatives to their local bodies in order to make them more effective.[126]

The Association was invigorated with the return of M.S.Das to Cuttack at the instance of Sir Richard Girth to start legal practice.[127] His long absence from Orissa naturally kept him out of touch with the Oriya movement. But, Gouri Sankar Ray, an eminent leader during the course of language agitation could give authentic picture of the problem of Oriyas to M.S.Das. Soon, he got himself deeply involved in the socio-political life of Orissa. A man of great moral courage, self respect and determination, he was deeply influenced by the philosophy of Edmund Burke and John Stuart Mill.[128] He was convinced that the renaissance in Orissa would not be possible unless the enlightened Middle Class took keen interest in political activities. At once, he was looked upon by the people of Orissa as the Saviour.[129]

The primary objects of Utkal Sabha were three-fold, (i) to participate in the sessions of Indian National Congress, (ii) agitation for the amalgamation of Oriya speaking tracts with Orissa and to make it a separate province and (iii) to protest against the elimination of Oriya language. On 21 May 1883, the Utkal Sabha passed a resolution demanding the appointment of Indians, as Session Judges with power to try the European offenders.[130] It further decided to send a petition to the Governor-General for the acceptance of Ilbert Bill.[131] It also criticised the conspiracy of Anglo Indians against

Ripon for having passed the Ilbert Bill.[132] Thus, while local-self Government created a spirit of civic sense, the Ilbert Bill controversy taught the people the lessons of organisations.[133]

After the foundation of Indian National Congress, Utkal Sabha was requested to send delegates to the first session of the Indian National Congress in 1885. On 3 March, 1886, a meeting was held at Printing Company at Cuttack to unanimously accept the resolutions passed by the Congress. It also adopted a resolution to send elected representatives to the legislative Council instead of nominated one. M.S.Das, Golak Chandra Bose, Kalipad Banergee, Hari Ballabha Bose, Bhagaban Chandra Das, Balu Gopal Rao Panthulu were elected by Utkal Sabha to represent in the Calcutta Session of Indian National Congress. They very much wanted to champion the cause of Oriya language against the derogatory remark of Rajendralal Mitra, but the Indian National Congress being an all India body could not take for discussion questions affecting any particular province, unless such questions had assumed the proportion of a national problem.[134] Thereafter, though Utkal Sabha sent delegates to other sessions of Indian National Congress, yet, it tried to further the regional grievances through its own forum.

On 10 May 1895, a meeting of the citizens of Cuttack under the Chairmanship of Madhusudan Das passed a resolution to amalgamate all Oriya-speaking tracts under one administration. On 20 June 1895, Utkal Sabha sent a memorial to Lord Elgin, Viceroy of India, and asserted that the denial to the people of the use of their mother tongue, is the worst form of ragging and is yet unknown even in the most despotic form of Government. Another

issue which was championed by this Organisation was the agitation for the introduction of Oriya as the language of the public offices. The mischievous propaganda of some people to replace Oriya could not get the support of Commissioner Ravenshaw. Utkal Sabha also in its various resolutions struggled hard to preserve the jobs for the Oriyas. Once Seton-Kerr suggested that the Oriyas are to be given more jobs in order to dispel the fear of the people that Bengalis are preferred due to their conversant with the rules and laws of British administration.[135] Gradually, a number of oriyas entered into Government jobs in different capacity. Much before the Indian National Congress's decision to regard the industrial and political movements as indissolubly linked together, Utkal Sabha had taken up the task under the dynamic leadership of Madhusudan Das.[136]

Thus, the language controversy opened the eyes of the people and widened the mental, moral and intellectual outlook. The spread of education, the establishment of Press, circulation of Vernacular and English newspapers, publication of books, Journals and Periodicals, the extension of communication and transport facilities, socio-religious reform movements and above all the establishment of several public Associations hastened the process of awakening. Madhu Sudan Das with his education, intelligence, aristocratic gait and above all his keen interest shown in public affairs was emerging as the natural choice of the people to provide leadership in their quest for an identity of Orissa and the creation of a separate province.

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LANGUAGE AGITATION

Since the conquest of Orissa by the East India Company in 1803, the Oriya speaking people remained politically dismembered; the coastal districts of Balasore, Cuttack and Puri under the Government of Bengal, the western region of Sambalpur under the Central Provinces and the southern portion of Ganjam and Koraput under the Madras Presidency.[1] Thus, Oriyas remaining under different administrative divisions always formed a minority under respective provincial governments. The alien element who had, in each case, a different language and different customs gradually acquired an importance wellnigh threatening the national extinction of the indigenous population. In the then Madras Presidency, the oriyas had been forced to learn Telugu, in the Central Provinces Hindi and even in Orissa proper, Bengali at the cost of his mother-tongue. The expression of an united national life, based on the affinity of the language and community was very much thwarted. The systematic exclusion of the native Oriyas from all offices of trust like the courts, the police, the revenue and the salt department prevailed from the very beginning. In the second half of the 19th century, the number of Oriyas holding government jobs was microscopic.[2] On account of their aversion to

English education they had found the gates of government employment closed.[3] The Government of India, though aware of its administrative anomaly, took no step to create a homogeneous political unit in the 19th century.[4] No other community was under such a large number of provincial administrations and thus long proscribed and thrown into the background. In the out-line Oriya tracts, the systematic attempts were made to destroy the Oriya language and culture together.

When the Famine Commission in its report indicated the administration for their inept handling of the situation in Orissa, it created a flutter in the British Parliament. The Secretary of State for India Stafford Northcote, took pains to review the whole situation and voiced his, strong opinion in favour of restructuring of the administrative set-up in the Bengal Province. He pointed out that if the present arrangement was to be maintained then at least the spread of the Presidency be reduced by the formation of Assam and the neighbouring districts (Orissa etc.) into a Commissionership.[5] John Lawrence, the then Governor General of India consequently wrote to the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal saying that, in principle he was not opposed to the creation of a Commissionership for Orissa; however, the financial grounds should obtain the highest priority. He felt that the expenses involved in such a change over would be considerable and as such should weigh against it.[6] The Lieutenant Governor on his part virtually toed the line of the Governor-General and expressed his inability to agree to the proposal of Northcote. Finally, the Governor-General decided to constitute Assam and some other districts into a separate Commissionership but maintained the statusquo for Orissa.

Though Northcote's suggestion for making Orissa and other divisions as independent units in 1867 came as an administrative expert's advice to reduce the burden on Bengal administration, yet it imparted Oriya nationalism some shape and created emotional confidence.

The language controversy surfaced, when the Sadar Board of Revenue recommended the gradual introduction of Bengali in place of Oriya in 1854.[7] The introduction of vernacular language in schools and offices had benefited in the spread of education. The order for its replacement by Bengali was primarily due to the machination of Bengali officers in Orissa, who had considerable control over the judicial and executive departments. The excuse was that Oriya-text-books were few and teachers too were in short supply. During these controversies, Rajendralal Mitra, an eminent scholar remarked that even as a race, the Oriyas were not different from the Bengalis.[8] In his opinion, Oriya language was mere dialect of Bengali.[9] Kantichandra Bhattacharya, a teacher of Balasore Zilla School wrote a Booklet, to prove that Oriya was a dialect of Bengali and not a separate language.[10] Some of the educated and enlightened Oriyas were able to visualise the problem and tried to save Oriya language from the clandestine onslaught of some Bengalis. To their good fortune, the Commissioner, T.E.Ravenshaw encouraged setting up more schools and writing of Oriya text books in Oriya language. He emphasised that Oriya literature was not as deficient as is supposed.[11]

The support of the Commissioner, establishment of Cuttack School Book Company, introduction of a Printing Press, Publications of Oriya periodicals and newspapers gave an impetus to the vernacular teaching in Orissa and

generated an awakening. There too arose a spurt of socio-cultural associations formed on the basis of caste, region, or with literary, cultural and political objectives.

The people of Ganjam had a longer spell of suffering and exploitation, as they had come under the spell of the British rule thirty seven years before the final conquest of Orissa. The Oriya tracts belonging to Madras Presidency were, Khallikote and Athagada, Palur, Biridi, Huma, Dharakote, Badagada, Katirjia, Shergada, Sana Khemundi, Bada Khemundi, Chikiti, Surangi, Jarada, Jalantara, Undarsingi, Mandasa, Taraba, Parlakhemundi, Aska, Barua, Urlam, Raghunathpur (Tekalli), Puruna Tekalli and Nandigram. Besides these tracts, thousands of Oriyas were living in the Visakhapatnam district and Jeypore agency. The scandalous manner in which the Athagada Zamindari was sold and the Mohuri Zamindari which was auctioned to the Collector's Shroff, revealed the true nature of British administration. The Raja of Khallikote, Hari Hara Mardaraj Deo felt the need for the amalgamation for the Oriya speaking tracts under one administrator. Being encouraged by Nilamani Vidyaratna, who edited a weekly called 'Praja Bandhu' from the Mardaraj Press, Rambha, and the Raja of Khallikote arranged a meeting at Rambha with eminent elite of Orissa to focuss the plight of Oriyas. He was also responsible for the Organisation of Utkala Sahitya Samaj to foster nationalism among the Oriyas.

The eminent and distinguished invitees to the palace conference at Rambha were Madhusudan Das, Radhanath Ray, Fakir Mohan Senapati, A.Parsuram Patro, and Sreeram Chandra Bhanja Deo, the Maharaja of Mayurbhanj.[12] In an informal get together, these leaders discussed the plight of the Oriyas of Ganjam, problems

relating to their education, employment in government service and the disadvantages of administrative dismemberment of the Oriya people.[13] It was further decided to hold a conference at Berhampur with representatives of all Oriya speaking tracts to discuss matters of common interest. The idea of the Ganjam National Conference soon caught the imagination, of the whole Oriya speaking country. Ganjam Sammilani started in 1903 with Shyam Sundar Rajguru, the first graduate of Ganjam as the President. The eminent people of Ganjam who attended the Conference were Krushna Chandra Sahani, Gopinath Manda, Daniel Mohanty, William Mohanty, Sribatcha Panda, Narasingha Das, Hari Hara Sadasya, Balaram Moharana and the 'Mahanta' of Harida Khandi. Being very much elated at the tremendous enthusiasm of the Oriya people of Ganjam and the whole Orissa representation at the Conference, Madhusudan Das proposed the formation of Utkal Sammilani or Utkal Union Conference. It was indeed, appropriate that the seeds of this national Organisation should have been sown in Ganjam, which was undergoing utmost suffering under Madras Presidency.

The nationalist sentiment which found expression in Sambalpur in the late 19th century marked the first successful step in the unification movement of the Oriyas.[14] Nationalist spirits had crept into Orissa in the second half of 19th century and this resulted in the rise of the Pan-Orissa idea which got fillip through the Press, the activities of the various, societies and the mushrooming of educational institutions. Although Sambalpur had been pushed away to central provinces, the Oriyas of the main land never ceased their concern for their brethren beyond the political frontiers. Utkal Dipika reported that, in the

six years between 1862-68, around 249 schools were founded in Sambalpur and the number of students enrolled was 13.276.[15] The Bamanda Chief Sudha Deb and the Kalahandi chief Adaita Pratap Deb donated Rs.250/- each to the medical school at Cuttack as fellowship for two needy students every year for three year course.[16] One candidate from Sambalpur was among the 40 selected for admission into Cuttack Medical School in its first year.[17]

In the meantime, it was rumoured that the Government was discussing the possibility of breaking down the entire Central Provinces by giving away Sindh to the Punjab, the Maratha areas to Bombay and placing Sambalpur with Bengal. Various newspapers in India started publishing such reports and attributing them to Lord Northbroke.[18] It was welcomed by the people of Orissa as Sambalpur was having close affinity and commercial link with Bengal. However, a division of Central Provinces did not materialise at this stage. The people of Sambalpur under the leadership of Bamanda chief kept alive the problems of the Oriyas through the *Sambalpur Hitaisini.*

It was a rude shock to the people when the Commissioner had recommended to the Chief Commissioner of Central Provinces that the official work in the Police Department in Sambalpur and its tributaries be transacted in Hindi in liew of Oriya. The proposed experimentation appeared absolutely unacceptable to them in the face of their first experience. Urdu was introduced as the official language when the district first came under the British occupation. When Urdu appeared as impracticable owing to the ignorance of the language, Hindi was introduced. But the common people found it

extremely difficult to acquire proficiency even in Hindi and after all this exercise, Oriya was introduced.[19] The move was regarded as the first step towards the complete abolition of Oriya. It generated a nationalist spirit among the people and the Journal Sambalpur Hitaisini became its mouth piece. Dharanidhar Mishra argued that officers were forced to learn Hindi with the threat of loss of promotion. Sambalpur Hitaisini cited few individual cases where personal interest induced the people to support the cause of Hindi.[20] A memorandum was prepared and despatched to the Commissioner, where it was contended that since the administrative inconvenience of the Hindi speaking officers was being put forward as a plea for the switching over to Hindi, it would be desirable if Sambalpur was transferred to the Oriya Division in Bengal.[21] The chiefs of the estates of Patna, Kalahandi, Sonepur, Redhakhol and Bamanda were exhorted to voice their protest to the government. It aroused a storm of opposition at many places of Orissa, notably at Cuttack, Balasore, Puri and Parlakhimindi. Prominent persons, like Brajmohan Patnaik, Balabhadra Supkar, Mohanta Bihari Das and Sripati Mishra moved from village to village to create public opinion against the Government's move. They even proceeded to Nagpur in a delegation to apprise the situation to the new Chief Commissioner, Andrew Fraser.[22] Another delegation was sent to Simla in August 1901. Madhusudan Das, President of Utkal Sabha sent a lengthy telegram to the Private Secretary to the Viceroy on 2 September 1901 drawing the attention of Curzon to the impolitic and impractical order of the Government of the Central Provinces.[23] W.Lawrence, the Private Secretary to Viceroy replied to Madhusudan Das that, "it is understood that Fraser has before him a representation on

the subject of 'The use of Oriya in Sambalpur' when Fraser's report is received by the Government of India, His Excellency would go into the matter.

As the English administration never came in direct contact with the people and depended only on subordinate's reports, they were incapable of an unbiased analysis. But beyond the inanimate files and the iron hands of discipline, there was the question of natural justice. The people of Sambalpur only pleaded for that. Finally, the Deputy Commissioner realised the futility of imposing Hindi and forwarded the letter to the Chief Commissioner.[24] But the recommendation was not paid any attention by the higher authorities. The Central Provinces Gazetter dated 19 January 1895 notified the replacement of Oriya by Hindi in the courts in Sambalpur.[25] The people thought that Commissioner John Woodburn who was very much impressed during his visit to Sambalpur, must have been prevailed upon by some interested quarters.[26] In Sambalpur Hitaisini appeared a series of emotional appeals by the celebrated poet, Gangadhar Meher of Sambalpur. These writings came under the caption, "The sobbing of Utkala Bharati."[27] Utkal Dipika reported that, "if Oriya was suppressed because it was spoken by a few millions of people it might also be urged that Dutch or Danish or Portugese be obliterated also..."[28] Cook's report was in favour of the people of Orissa :

> I have to advocate the extension of the division boundaries as to include the whole area populated by races speaking the Uriya language, or at any rate, some definite areas adjoining Orissa where the Uriya language prevails .... The areas that I refer to are Sambalpur district of Chatisgarh Division of the

> Central Provinces with the tributary states of Patna, Sonepur, Radhekhol, Bamra, Kalahandi, and the whole or part of the Ganjam district with the states of Khimedi and Gumusar ... About Sambalpur, he further wrote, though included in Chhatisgarh division, forms no part of Chatisgarh proper either geographically or historically.[30]

People were greatly encouraged by this report which appreciated the Oriya sentiment and even raised funds to carry on the agitation. But, the Government paid no attention to these pleadings and Hindi continued to be the official language until 1 January 1903.

The attempt for a structural change in the administration by the new Viceroy Curzon who succeeded Lord Elgin in 1899, coupled with the new Chief Commissioner Andrew Fraser, rekindled the hopes of the oriya people. Andrew Fraser was of the opinion that :

> If it was impossible to have Oriya as the language of one district in the Central Province they would prefer to be transferred to Orissa.[31]

Madhusudan Das visited the Viceroy at Simla and narrated the misfortune of the Oriyas in such an appealing manner that Curzon was greatly moved.[32] But the Government could not agree to the suggestion of the Chief Commissioner that Sambalpur be seceded from Central Province immediately. But they issued an order in July 1902 which was to restore Oriya as the court and the office language in Sambalpur from 1 January 1903.

Though Madhusudan Das thanked the Government for their kind step, yet, the successful language agitation

and the struggle in Sambalpur for reviving their mother tongue instilled a hope for the amalgamation of Oriya speaking tracts. During the latter half of 1902 a monster memorial to Curzon was drafted above the signatures of hundreds of Oriyas in Ganjam. The memorialists spoke of themselves as 'a limb separated from the body', and they prayed ... to bring together the scattered divisions inhabited by Oriya speaking people, i.e. Ganjam in Madras, Sambalpur in the Central Provinces, and Orissa proper in Bengal, under the Government of Bengal or under any one government and the University.[33] Utkal Sabha or Orissa Association had a meeting at Cuttack on 22 April 1903 to discuss the amalgamation issue.[34] The meeting resolved to submit a memorial to the Viceroy for (i) the amalgamation of Oriya speaking tracts of Sambalpur, Chota Nagpur, Ganjam, Vizagpatnam and Midnapore with Orissa Division; (ii) the constitution of Orissa into a Chief Commissionership like Assam, and (iii) non-alteration of the jurisdiction of the Calcutta High Court and Calcutta University. A Sub-Committee consisting of Madhu Sudan Das, Ram Sankar Ray, Rev. G. H. Howell and Gokulananda Choudhury was formed to prepare the draft memorial, which was presented subsequently to K. G. Gupta, the Commissioner of Orissa.[35]

Meanwhile, H.H.Risley the Secretary to the - Government of India wrote a letter to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal dealing at length the territorial redistribution.[36] In his analysis of Orissa he said, "Orissa had been associated with Bengal for a century, and consequently was conversant with Bengal administrative system... Orissa could not provide a maritime outlet to Central Province. So it could stay with

Bengal as well. He also dealt with the question of race and language apart from the arbitrary distinctions of administrative or territorial partition". on the grounds above stated the Government of India are disposed to unite the whole of Oriyaspeaking people, both hill and plain, under one administration and to make that administration Bengal. In other words, they would add to Orissa the Oriya speaking tracts of Sambalpur and its feudatory states, the Ganjam districts, and the Ganjam and Vizagapatn am Agency tracts. Such a scheme would solve the question of language once and for all. This change would relieve both Central Province and Madras of a troublesome existences upon their administrative system: and it would result in handling over the Oriya problem to one Government alone, on a scale and with a unity that would admit of its being treated with consistency and efficiency.

Lord Curzon, who was sympathetic to oriya cause proposed the scheme of bringing together all the Oriya speaking tracts under one administration through the famous Risley circular. Moreover, he expressed the scheme of the partition of Bengal to relieve the excessive administrative burden on the Governorship of Bengal. This was to be done through the carving out Lieutenant Governorship for Eastern Bengal and Assam, and to compensate Bengal for the loss, the Oriya areas to be placed under Bengal.[37] The spontaneous reaction in Orissa to Risley Report was one of gratitude and overwhelming emotion. The Oriya newspapers in Ganjam, Sambalpur and the coastal Orissa expressed their indebtedness to the Government for their announcement.[38] However, the Government order somehow needed a great deal of paraphernalia to be translated into practice.

The successful language agitation of Sambalpur during 1895-1901 gave an impetus to the Oriya Movement in Ganjam. The Madras Press launched an organised and systematic campaign against the Oriya interests. The papers pointed out that, (i) the census figures of 1901 on which the Risley proposals were formulated were erroneous, (ii) the Oriyas of Ganjam did not entertain the desire for linguistic union, (iii) the Oriya memorial referred to in the circular did not represent the opinion of the majority and the influential community of the district, (iv) the Oriya. language was never ignored in official use, (v) the Privileges enjoyed by the Oriyas as a linguistic minority in the province would not be available to them if Ganjam were transferred, and (vi) since Ganjam had a sizable Telugu community as well, the Government of Bengal would have to deal with this community and the troubles of another language if Ganjam formed a part of Bengal administration.[39] The Telugu officials were deeply involved in the issue and put their weight against the proposed transfer. F.J.V.Minchin, the proprietor of the local Sugar Factory and distillery wrote from Aska to Lord Curzon :

> I should make known to His Excellency that the agitation going on in Ganjam against 'the excision of Ganjam' is said to be got up entirely by the native officials and the Telugu Vakils, who are threatening the Oriyas with increased water and other taxes under the Bengal Government, and frightening them with the prospect of their coming under the Bengali Baboo.[40]

The Telugu opposition to the excision of Ganjam from Madras was projected in the Annual session of Indian

National Congress of 1903, which was held at Madras between 28 and 30 December.[41] The Congress passed a Resolution on 'Territorial Redistribution of Bengal, which read as follows : "that the Congress views with deep concern the present policy of the Government of India in breaking up territorial divisions which have been of long standing and are closely, united by ethnological legislative, social and administrative relations and deprecates the separation from Bengal to Dacca, Mymensingh, Chittagong division and portions of Chotnagpur division and also the separation of the district of Ganjam and the Agency tract of[42] Ganjam and Vizagpatnam districts from the Madras Presidency" The Indian National Congress took up the issue primarily due to the strong resentment in Bengal to the proposals included in Riseley circular. The proposal of the partition of Bengal hurted their nationalistic feeling and united them against any move to partition Bengal. Even the terrorist activities against the Government were undertaken in a large scale in Bengal.[43] They succeeded in turning it into a national issue followed by the cries of *Swadeshi* or boycotting everything English.

During the debate in the National Congress, G. Raghav Rao the Telugu delegate from Berhampur emphasised that the Oriyas of Ganjam were a happy and privileged community, who needed no change in administration. The Telugus on the other hand, if transferred to Bengal would become a 'trouble excrescence' for the Bengal Government.[44] A. C. Parthasarthy Naidu claimed that even the Oriyas were not in favour of their severance from Madras,[45] Strangely enough, the Oriya delegates to the Congress (Harimohan Roy Choudhury, Ram Sankar Ray and Janakinath Bose from Cuttack, Bhagavat Prasad Mohapatra and J.Ghosal

from Balasore) made no attempt to project their cause which must have reinforced the Telugu stand. The lone voice of V. Krishnaswamy Iyer, a lawyer of the Madras High Court suggested that the Congress refrain from pronouncing any judgement on such a controversial issue. It had better advise the Telugus to seek justice from the Government by submitting memorials, as the oriyas had done. but his plea made no impact and the Resolution deprecating the proposed transfer of Ganjam was easily passed.

Adding to that, Lord Ampthill, the Governor of Madras, in reply to the Risley circular strongly urged the maintenance of the statusquo, adducing a series of arguments. He contended: (i) owing to the mixture of races, the transfer would give rise to serious difficulties connected with linguistic and racial conditions and the geographical formation of the tract in question; (ii) the judicial arrangement of these territories would be greatly complicated and confused by their transfer to Bengal; (iii) the administration of their peculiar land revenue system would be placed in the hands of the Officers who had no acquaintance with the principles on which it was based or with the language in which most of its records were maintained; (iv) the transfer would cause great inconvenience to merchants and traders as it would be necessary for merchants operating in Ganjam to establish a new agency at Calcutta; public opinion was opposed to the change and the memorial represented the views of a small minority of the local population; (vi) the population of the proposed new Bengal and its extent would increase on account of its transfer, thus defeating the very purpose for which the partition of Bengal was to be effected.[46]

Meanwhile, there was a change of officers in consequence of Lord Curzon's flight to England on a long leave. In 1904, Andrew Fraser had been promoted as the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal and Lord Ampthill the then Lieutenant Governor of Madras, officiated as Viceroy at Calcutta during Curzon's absence. When the final decision was to be taken regarding the amalgamation.of the Oriya areas, Andrew Fraser opposed the transfer of Madras Oriya areas.[47] Lord Ampthill passed a Resolution, which abandoned the transfer of Ganjam and Vizagapatam Agency to Orissa. But the proposed transfer of Sambalpur to Orissa was endorsed.[48] Thus, Bengal was partitioned as Sambalpur (less the Phuljhar and Chandrapur-Padampur tracts) and the states like Sonepur, Bamra, Patna, Kalahandi and Redhakhol joined with Orissa. The union on the western side of Orissa was the first step towards the unity in the Oriya Union Movement.

Utkal Union Conference :

With the increasing demand for higher education, there was the growth of a volatile vernacular Press and the emergence of an elite class. The elite class formed various socio-cultural associations in the districts of Orissa Division and the district of Ganjam under Madras Presidency. Madhusudan Das, a brilliant lawyer with moderate.political views provided leadership to the elite group and stimulated interest in national activities. He became the moving spirit in the public life of Orissa and the symbol of National awakening.[49] Madhusudan Das, the architect of Oriya nationalist movement in the 20th century, had keenly observed the Sambalpur agitation and the recent developments in Orissa and was strengthened in his belief that only a well organised joint endeavour

with a greater thrust could carry the aspirations of the Oriya people to fulfilment.[50]

During the Easter holidays, in 1903, a meeting of the Ganjam Jatiya Samiti was held at Berhampur under Hari Har Mardaraj, the Raja of Khallikote, which expressed the desire of the Oriyas of Ganjam to be united with Orissa. In the same year, the Ganjam Samilani was convened at Berhampur. Madhusudan Das was very much impressed by all Orissa representation of the Ccnference. In the same month, Madhusucan Das presided over a meeting of the Orissa Association which was attended by the Kanika Chief, G.H.Howell, some English ladies. Gokulananda Choudhury, Braja Sundar Das, Gopal Chandra Praharaj, Janakinath Bose and Ramasankar Ray, among others.[51] It was decided to send an appeal to the Governor General for uniting all the oriya tracts and placing them under a Chief Commissionership like Assam. Madhusudan. Das rightly felt that the Oriya-speaking people at the beginning of this century were Pulsating with a new life - a new awakening. He realised the ineffectiveness of Orissa Association (Utkal Sabha) in delivering goods; a more powerful and a popular provincial Organisation was the need of the hour. He envisaged a much wider forum embracing a large number of motivated people to translate his ideas into a concrete shape. The Annual Session of the Indian National Congress gave no opportunity to Oriya delegates to ventilate their grievances since they were treated as appendices to the Bengal contingent dominated by stalwarts like S.N.Banergee and others.[52] Madhusudan, therefore, had no fascination for the Congress Organisation and resolved to set-up a strong provincial unit. During the annual congregation of the

ruling chiefs of Orissa Feudatory States at Cuttack on 6 January 1903, he gave shape to his idea of forming an association of the Oriya speaking people of coastal Orissa, western Orissa, Princely States and other outlying regions under Bengal, Madras and Central Provinces, so as to provide a common platform to the scattered race and foster close fraternity among its members.[53] Accordingly in the Ganjam National Conference at Berhampur in April 1903 public support was mobilised for a more representative and national association of the oriya people.[54] He, therefore, convened a meeting at the Kanika Courtyard on October 25, 1903.[55] The leading public men of Cuttack set up a Reception-Cum-Executive Committee with the Raja of Kanika as the Chairman and Madhusudan Das as Secretary to organise the first session of the proposed Utkal Union Conference.[56] December 30 and 31 were the dates chosen. Thus Utkal Union Conference was born and was christened in December 1903, with the merger of all other local public associations for the common end i.e., the demand of a separate province for the all Oriya-speaking people.

The Utkal Union Conference was organised as a non-political organisation. Its membership was thrown open to all Oriyas and to those domiciled in Orissa, irrespective of social status. It did not distinguish between British Orissa and Feudatory States, between the ruling princes and the common people It included the non-Oriya people who had settled in Orissa generations ago, and also the recent settlers who had identified their interests with that of Orissa. In that sense it was truely a conference of the 'Utkaliyas'.[57] It did not maintain any list of its membership and was open to every one who came under one of the above categories.[58] The Oriya as every where wanted to

come closer and know each other and the Utkal union Conference was to provide the platform for this rendezvous. Both officials and non-officials were cordially invited to attend its inaugural session at 'Cuttack' on 30 December 1903.[59] To assert the non-political character of the conference it was made clear: "Speakers will please note that all discussions on political and religious subjects and criticisms of the actions of the Government and Government officials are strictly prohibited'.[60] The Utkal Union Conference resolved to conduct its proceedings in the language of the people.[61] The gatherings are to cross across various classbarriers and were expected to voice the will of the people. The objectives of Utkal Union Conference were formulated with a nationalistic fervour. But in the beginning it was against the "go between class" i.e. the intermediaries[62] and not against the actions of the Government obstructing the growth of healthy patriotism.

The inaugural session was presided over by Sreeram Chandra Bhanjdeo, the ruling Chief of Mayurbhanj. In course of his brilliant address, Sreeram Chandra emphasised the three main objectives of the Conference; viz., (1) to bring unity among the Oriya-speakirg people; (2) to develop the industrial potentiality of Orissa; and (3) to spread education; general, technical and female. He also touched upon the necessity of social reform, development of agriculture, livestock, exploitation of mineral, resources and establishment of textile factories.[63] Its aims were to establish unity among the entire Oriya population distributed over different provinces, to work for the all-round development of the Oriyas, to amalgamate the Oriya-speaking tracts and to safeguard the interests of the Oriya people living outside Orissa.[64]

The inaugural session of the Conference was a grand spectacle, in the sense that there was an unprecedented congregation of thirty kings and princes, all top ranking officials of the Orissa Division including the Commissioner, the elite of Cuttack, Puri and Balasore, and delegates from the Oriya-speaking tracts of Midnapore, the Central Provinces and Madras. The delegates from the outlying tracts numbered 335. There were 10 delegates from Midnapore, 25 from Sambalpur and 300 from Ganjam.[65] The delegates wore a special head gear of maroon colour on the occasion, which were prepared under the meticulous care of Sailabala, the adopted daughter of Madhusudan Das. The conference was truly a representative national forum embodying the hopes and aspirations of the oriya people. An unprecedented atmosphere of unity, co-operation and understanding prevailed among the oriyas and domiciled Bengalees, [66]

The President, Maharaja Sreeram Chandra Bhanjdeo of Mayurbhanj addressed the delegates as 'Brothers'. It was an unprecedented gesture on the part of a feudatory chief, which at once electrified the audience and thereby helped to generate national consciousness among his compatriots'.[67] He concluded his speech by quoting the popular *Sloka* of *Ramayana*, *Janani Janmabhumischa Swargadapi Gariyashi* and invoked the Blessings of God for the success of the Conference.[68] Madhusudan Das recited the inspiring song of his own composition "Awake, arise ye sons of Utkal, How long will you slumber ? The valour and glory of your Sires say, will ye not remember.[69]

The conference discussed on problems relating to Oriyas and adopted six resolutions. It respectfully recorded their deep and sincere feelings of gratitude to His

Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India for his beneficent proposal for the administrative union of the whole Oriya-speaking tracts.[70] It conveyed sincere thanks to Lieutenant Governor of Bengal for having restored the use of Oriya language as the court languages in Sambalpur.[71] Further, it emphasised the desirability of fostering and strengthening friendly relations between the Utkaliyas and the other peoples and nations with whom they are in contact.[72] Other resolutions related to educating public opinion, introduction of social reforms,[73] improvement of Oriya literature and language[74] in cooperation with Utkal Sahitya Samaj of Cuttack, agricultural and industrial condition of the Oriya-speaking tracts and utilisation of its natural resources.[75] It urged for the affiliation of the Silponnati Sabha of Cuttack to the conference and holding an Annual exhibition of agricultural, Industrial and the natural products of the region. A number of Committees were formed to undertake social reform works, to protect and develop the handicrafts industry and also to encourage literary and cultural activities. The Executive Committee was entrusted with the change of maintaining the finance, the main source of which was personal donations.

The Amrit Bazar Patrika wrote :

The most striking of these is that, this is the first time that a long number of Indian Chiefs, Rajas, Zamindars and the gentry of an Indian province were found assembled together for the purpose of improving their material condition by mutual help. In Orissa, the princes were brought together with the aristocracy, the gentry and the poor. Not only do the princes and the people in the province speak the same languages but they are all bound

by the same ties of religion, customs, usages and associations. The whole movement was thus actuated by one feeling of nationality, its main object being to unite all the Oriya-speaking peoples into one race.[76]

Its success was noticed by Sri Aurobindo, who wrote, "the new organised life of Orissa will become an immense addition to the force of nationalism under a very capable and high-spirited leader, Madhusudan Das."[77]

Madhusudan Das was shrewd enough of forming an alliance with the British Government, as it srengthened its coordiality with the feudatory chiefs, who surely constituted a major power in Orissa, next only to the Government. He exploited these chief's abhorrence for the Indian National Congress. In fact, the Utkal Union Conference, the brain child of Madhusudan Das was nurtured in the lap of the Kanika chief, [78] The patronage of these chiefs was accepted, as Utkal Union Conference ritually chose one of them its President in every session for long time. Maharaja Sreeram Chandra Bhanjadeo, who was known in Bengal as a Bengali king because of his matrimonial relationship with the daughter of celebrated Keshab Chandra Sen, was chosen as the first President of Utkal Union Conference. Madhusudan Das is reported to have remarked that it was only he who 're-converted' the king of Mayurbhanj kingdom into Oriya as having chosen the President of the first session of Utkal Union Conference.[79] However, it may be argued that the Conference was organised not from any narrow provincial feeling. It was a broad based Organisation which aimed at putting pressure on all concerned for the political unification, industrial progress and economic development of Orissa. It is wrong to assume it as a step-mother of Indian National Congress.

According to the constitution of Utkal Union Conference, (i) Delegates for the annual conference would be chosen by the district committees, (ii) Annual Conference would be held on scheduled dates, (iii) Delegates from the district Committees and members of the reception committee alone would be regarded as delegates of the conference. The following quota was fixed for each district committee regarding number of delegates to be sent to the conference. Cuttack - 15, Ganjam - 10, Balasore - 8, Puri - 10, Vizagapatam - 3, Central Provinces - 3, Sambalpur - 5, Singhbhum - 2, Midnapore - 1, Angul - 1, Garjat States - 10.[80] The activities began proliferating through branch associations numbering 381 which were organised by 15 competent paid missionaries of the Conference. These branches were spread all over the greater Orissa. Two of the branches were set up in Midnapore; 4 at Calcutta, 23 at Ganjam; 5 in Sambalpur; 44 in Feudatory States, the rest distributed over Cuttack, Puri and Balasore.[81] The Utkal Union Conference continued to meet annually and its executives met more frequently to discuss the Proceedings, its impact and its developments under the personal care of Madhu Sudan Das.

The Second Session of Utkal Union Conference was held again at Cuttack on 28 and 29 December 1904. The President of the session was Madanmohan Singhdeo the Raja of Dharakote. It undertook the task of educational programme. It demanded a Girls School at Cuttack and pressed for a scholarship for B.Sc. classes to be instituted in the memory of Samanta Chandra Sekhar. About 2000 people attended the Conference.[82] Maharaja Dhanurjoy Narayan Bhanjdeo was the Chairman of the Reception Committee. The Resolution of Sailabala Das to start a Girls

High School at Cuttack was adopted.[83] The 'Young Utkal Association' which was formed simultaneously with the Utkal Union Conference was declared a part of the Organisation. The Second Conference marked a definite advance over the first. In 1904, Madhusudan Das was conferred the title of C.I.E. by the British Government in recognition of his work.

Herbert Risley's circular for territorial redistribution on the basis of the memorials of Raja Baikunthanath De of Balasore,[84] Chandra Sekhar Behera of Sambalpur,[85] Harihara Tripathy of Ganjam[86] and Madhusudan and Gourisankar of Cuttack,[87] created a stir among the people of Orissa. The Indian National Congress, passed a resolution against territorial division and deprecated the separation of Ganjam and Agency tracts from the Madras Presidency. Inspite of that Government agreed to transfer Sambalpur district and two other princely states called Gangpur and Bonai to Orissa. But the people of Ganjam were disappointed by the attitude of Lord Ampthill, the acting Viceroy of India.

By the time the third session was held, Sambalpur had come to Orissa. The merger of Sambalpur with Orissa on 16 October 1905 strengthened the nascent unity of the people. Damodar Kar and Sashi Bhusan Ray were selected to welcome the people of Sambalpur on behalf of the Utkal Union Conference.[88] The chiefs, the Zamindars and leaders of the area for their part played in the merger of Sambalpur with Orissao[89] It was followed by several meetings in Ganiam, where the prospect of the union of outlying tracts was the main issue of discussion. Jatiya Sangita publishe by Raja Harihara Mardaraj Deo created considerable stir among the oriyas.[90] Much propaganda work through the

circulation of pamphlets and brochures was going on in different parts of Orissa In villages, the branch associations were working with tremendous enthusiasms.[91]

The third session of the Conference was held at Balasor on 13 and 14 April 1906. It was presided over by the Raja of Talcher. Baikunthanath De was the Chairman of the Reception Committee.[92] Deliberations reiterated the need for the development of agriculture and cottage industry. Madhusudan Das even pleaded with illiterate villagers to strengthen the cottage industry, to start spinning, to use their own loom for weaving and to take to intensive agriculture.[93] It was thought practical to educate and train up the children of the weavers and farmers. Importance was also attached to the setting up of an engineering school in Orissa.[94] The necessity of publishing a bulletin periodically as the mouth piece of Utkal Union Conference was felt in the 3rd session. The bulletin known as the Journal of Utkal Sammilani was published under the editorship of Babu Nilamani Chand De to popularise its activities. Only two issues of the Journal was brought out and then passed into oblivion.[95] The conference also adopted *Swadeshi* on principle.[96] Here, political as well as ideological questions crept into the programme of the conference.

Impact of Swadeshi Movement :

The partition of Bengal in 1905 produced a wide spread discontentment in Bengal and resulted in the emergence of militant nationalism. As Orissa stood; a close proximity to Bengal, the Swadeshi idea spread very fast to different parts of Orissa. A great public meeting was held at Cuttack on 20 August 1905 under the Presidentship

of Janakinath Bose to preach and propagate the Swadeshi ideas. Dhirendranath Choudhury and Biswanath Kar explained the significance of boycott of foreign goods and adoption *of Swadeshi*. The names of those who pledged to use only *Swadeshi* goods was read out. Madhusudan. Das also in a fiery speech said, "A promise was of little importance unless it was put into practice. For example, General Togo of Japan uses the shoes made in his own country, however uncouth they may be. 'This example should inspire us in one way or the other".[97] He gave a clarion call and urged the people of Orissa to boycott foreign goods, especially the 'machestor made cloth' and the 'Liverpool-salt'. The idea behind the call was to develop indigenous goods and prevent the drain of wealth. Even before the Swadeshi Movement, he had established the 'Orissa Art Wares at Cuttack,[98] "I had occasion to compare some articles of jewellery from the 'Orissa Art Wares' with those from a well known London Firm Sir John Bentick Ltd. From the result of the comparison I am quite convinced that the 'Orissa Art Wares' can turn out things quite equal in polish, finish to those of first class English make and that at a marvellously cheaper rate".[99] The casket containing the address presented to Lord Curzon at Puri was a piece of work which in design, execution and finish would challenge comparison with the works of the best artists upper India.[100]

> It is an example of what perseverence and earnestness may accomplish in the face of immense difficulties and I hope the moral it teaches will not be lost upon my country men of Orissa.[101]

Madhusudan Das addressed the Swadeshi Sabha at Puri with such forceful arguments that, the speech made

an indelible impression on the mind of Nilakantha Das, Godavarish Mishra and many others who were in the youthful stage of their career.[102] A crowded public meeting was held at Balasore under the Chairmanship of Abdus Sobhan Khan,[103] Fakir Mohan Senapati, Karunakar Sahu, and Daitari Das inspired the people to use indigenous goods only.

It is astonishing to note that many people of Orissa who disliked the congress agitation, now joined the Swadeshi agitators. It was propagated in the village fairs to draw the masses into the national movement. Agitators from Midnapore and Calcutta came to various parts of Orissa in order to organise the movement. *'Bande-Mataram* was adopted as the soul stirring slogan. Many people in Balasore gave up the use of foreign clothes and salt and began to use country made salt and sugar, notwithstanding their inferior quality.[103] The vernacular news papers like 'The Prajabandhu' of Ganjam, the 'Manoroma' of Baripada and the 'Sambalpur Hitaishini' played a significant role to popularise the ideas of Swadeshi Movement. Fakir Mohan Senapati tried to arouse patriotism through his satire. Under the Puri branch of Utkal Union Conference, a 'Swadeshi Sabha' was held, where the people took the oath before Lord Jagannath to use only 'Swadeshi' goods. Thus, the movement became popular through public meetings, demonstrations, processions, patriotic songs, picketing and bonfire. Godavarish Mishra recollects that 'one day bonfire was organised on foreign clothes on the Grand Road, Puri. *Bande-Mataram* echoed and re-echoed from one end of the city to the other,.... We as students at that time, realised the importance of Swadeshi.[104]

The boycott of foreign goods indirectly encouraged the promotion of indigenous industries. In the words of Sumit Sarkar, "the Swadeshi goods should be preferred by consumers even if they were more expensive than and inferior in quality to their imported substitutes and that it was the patriotic duty of men with capital to pioneer such industries even though profit initially might be minimal or non-existent".[105] As Orissa was rich in natural resources and raw materials, it did not lag behind in the production of indigenous goods. Her Handloom products were highly prized throughout India. The weavers of Banapur, Sukinda, Basudevpur and Sambalpur found patronage to produce fine handloom textiles.[106] Even children were reported to have developed fondness for *Swadeshi'* toys.[107] The Rajas and Zamindars of Orissa took keen interest in the Swadeshi enterprise. The practice of holding annual exhibition of Swadeshi goods had become a regular part of the annual session of the Congress since 1901. The Utkal Dipika observed that, so many Swadeshi goods could be produced for display in the exhibition in a short time is a wonderful proof of the great interest of the people of Orissa in the Swadeshi Movement.[108]

Being influenced by the idea of *Swadeshi*, a large number of delegates from Orissa attended the Calcutta Session of the Congress in 1906.[109] Their active participation in political and public activities not only accelerated the Swadeshi movement in Orissa but also weakened the attitude of the moderates. The *Swadeshi* movement lost its force after the Surat split in 1907. Quarrels between the moderates and the extremists created a feeling of uneasiness among the leaders.[110] In Orissa, the tone of the Congress was on moderate lines. But a few Oriya students who studied in Calcutta during the

Swadeshi days returned back with a new spirit of nationalism and revolutionary activities. Of them Gopabandhu Das emerged as the most prominent, who had close association with two terrorist leaders of Bengal. They are Khudiram Bose and Shashi Bhusan Choudhury,. The closest associates of Shasi Bhusan were Nilakantha Das, Godavarish Mishra, Parsuram Burma and Raghunath Mohapatra.[111]

Gradually, much attention was paid to the Satyabadi tradition initiated by Gopabandhu Das, which had a tremendous impact on literature dealing with nationalism and social reformation.[112] The group around Gopabandhu Das was known as *Satyabadi group* and they published a monthly called *Satyabadi* and a weekly called 'Samaj'. This group began to drift from the moderate attitude of Madhusudan Das on *Swadeshi*. He said, "I believe the Swadeshi rage has done a good deal more injury[113] than good to the cause of indigenous industry in India". His speech was read with different feelings by different sections of the community. His denunciation of Swadeshi rage was resented by the forward school of politicians. His remarks brought disappointment and indignations to many all over the country. "It was the convulsion of a misguided and feverish patriotism, and collapse is the sequel of convulsion".[114] Such observations in the fitness of the things would have come from official quarters". Thus, the Oriya movement through Utkal Union Conference took a dramatic turn due to the partition of Bengal and Swadeshi movement.

The Fourth session of Utkal Union Conference was held in 27 December 1907. The venue selected was the Berhampur city in Ganjam.[115] It was for the first time that

the Conference was held in one of the outlying tracts. The credit for its success goes, to a large extent, to Raja Harihar Mardaraj Deo of Khallikote. The *Prajabandhu* gave wide publicity to the coming session. It generated great excitement among the people of Ganjam who intensified the movement for the *amalgamation* of South Orissa. The session was presided over by the Raja of Kanika, Rajendra Narayan Bhanjdeo.[116] Opposition of Madras Government was specially noticeable in this session. There was a three-sided opposition, from above, from within, and from without. The Government of Madras which knocked the proposal of Curzon on the head was actively hostile, as also its agents in Ganjam and Vizagapatnam. Certain Zamindars of Ganjam were definitely opposed to the measure and even went, perhaps to a large extent under subtle influence at work in the background, to the length of actively associating themselves in sending up counter memorials and in making demonstrations of a like manner. Added to these was the third and most prominently hostile factor, the deliberate opposition of many Telugus in Ganjam and Jeypore, who even stooped to undesirable and unscrupulous methods of expressing their feeling of resentment at the opposition to the union of the Oriya speaking tracts.[117] The oriyas of Ganjam expected justice and fair play from the new Governor of Madras. Damodar Kaviratna edited a weekly, named *Utkalabasini* in which he gave a call to the Oriyas of Ganjam to rise up to the occasion.[118] Chintamani Mohanty gave further momentum to the amalgamation movement by editing another weekly, the 'Ganjam Hitavadini'.[119] It was decided in this session that the aim of the Conference should be more minutely categorised and a drive should be launched to procure finance to implement them.[120] Stress was laid on female

education and on educational development of Ganjam in general. Also gratitude was expressed to the Madras Government for providing concessions in matter of Oriya education in Madras. The session was important because here for the first time some discussion took place to assess the functioning of the Utkal Union Conference. The foresighted politicians had already started to look beyond the initial excitement of the Conference. It came to notice that many branch associations had disappeared and many others were somehow plodding on without much action. It anticipated its collapse, unless sufficient funds are raised for the propaganda work.

In 1908, Utkal Union Conference had two sessions.[121] One was held at Puri in the month of April and the other at Cuttack in December. In both these sessions, emphasis was on female education. The seventh Session was, held at Cuttack in December 1910.[122]

The Eighth session was held in April 1912 at Berhampur.[123] It was the first session after the Bihar Orissa Province was announced. As the Bihar and Orissa Province was carved out of the Bengal Presidency without the amalgamation of Ganjam, it was felt by its people that yet another opportunity for their reunion with Orissa had been lost. The creation of the new Province created a great disappointment in Orissa. Ganjam and other oriya speaking tracts remained tied to Madras. Lord Curzon commented that :

> I venture the prophecy that this is a binder that cannot remain permanent .... The interest of the oriyas have been sacrificed without compunction and this callous indifference for Oriya interest has been

due to the fact that they are a non-agitating people .... they would soon make their protest heard.[124]

Thus, though the Viceroy Lord Curzon and Lieutenant Governor of Bengal Sir Andrew Fraser were sympathetic to the incorporation of Ganjam, yet, the insurmountable opposition of Madras Government, the agents of Ganjam and Visakhapatnam and the Telugu population of these areas, knocked the proposal of Curzon and the prospects of the Oriyas became bleak. In Ganjam, meeting were held in different areas like (Khallikote, Rambha, Biruli, Dharakote Puttugram, Jeypore, Badakhimendi and in other places.[125]

The Oriya weeklies bitterly criticised the decision of the Government in forming the new province. It was also demanded that Puri should be the summer capital of the new province.[126] It was remarked that the creation of the new Province was a Political earth-quake or the birth of twins.[127] Further it was emphasised that the Union Of Ganjam and other tracts with Orissa be insisted upon under the same Principle guiding the reunion of Bengal. On 24 January 1912, memorial. was submitted to Lord Hardinge with, the signatures' of 621 persons, demanding the transfer of Ganjam and the Agency tracts to Orissa.[128] But the Government considered the transfer of these linguistically homogeneous areas neither desirable nor necessary, as it would hamper the trade, commerce and communication.[129] Nevertheless, the Utkal Union Conference thanked Lord Curzon and Mac Callen Scott for having suggested the union of Oriya speaking areas in British Parliament.[130] In the House Of Commons, Under Secretary Montague said that Ganjam will come to Orissa provided strong arguments are available.[131] The Opposition

of the people also found expression in 'Madras Mail'.[132] But the Governor of Madras Lord Carmichael did not consider the gravity of the issue. The Pan-Oriya movement was kept alive by the venture of Sashi Bhusan Rath through a weekly called 'Ashas' and two English weeklies like 'East Coast' and 'New Orissa Daily'. It was the general feeling that Orissa was being used for the Political advantage of Bihar as it had been used for Bengal. The Berhampur session, 1912, recorded its emphatic protest against the conversion of Oriya training school at Berhampur into Telugu.[133] It also urged the authorities to make Oriya a subject for the 'Vidyan' title examination in the Madras University.[134]

The dissatisfaction of the people of Orissa over the creation of Bihar-Orissa Province and the non-inclusion of Ganjam in it, led to the demand for political discussion in Utkal Union conference. In a letter to the editor of Utkal Dipika, the following suggestion was made "to raise the status of the Utkal Union Conference, by converting it into a political body .... I know there will be opposition to such a proposal because Government officials and Feudatory Chiefs can not take part in it. Let's therefore divide the function of the Conference into two branches, namely political and non-political".[135]

Utkal Dipika added in its comment that though it was ludicrous to make a division of the Organisation, it was perhaps necessary to hold political discussions henceforth. The sceptical attitude of few about the Organisation itself found expression in the newspaper 'Star of Utkal'. It pointed out that, "we do not attach much importance to the change in the principle on the part of the Conference for we never attached any importance to

its practicability of carrying out any of its resolutions, political, social or literary.[136]

However, as usual, the 9th session of the Conference was held at Puri in December 1913. The President was Madhusudan Das. It discussed on the issues of amalgamation of Oriya speaking tracts and introduction of Oriya in schools, courts and offices in those tracts. It expressed its appreciation of Satyabadi School which was opened at Satyabadi in Puri in 1909. This school was the product of lofty idealism of a few young intellectuals who were convinced that much of the ills could be eradicated through proper development and training of the young. [137]

The 10th session was held at Parlakimedi in Ganjam in December 1914. The Chief of Jeypore, Vikram Deo Verma, was chosen as the President of this session. The Chief of Parlakimedi spent lavishly in the Organisation of the Conference. It emphasised on the intense campaigning in the outlying oriyaspeaking tracts and that the agitation must begin in every village every city and indeed every house. It demanded the implementation of the Oriya-speaking tracts outlined by Dr.Grierson in the Linguistic Survey of India.[138] Harihar Panda of Ganjam criticised the timidity of the Government in officially recognising only in one division out of four in the district of Ganjam and pleaded for the establishment of schools and better communication in the outlying areas.[139] The meeting was attended by the representatives of Banpur, Khallikote, Athagada, Dharakota, Badakemidi, Sankemedi, Delang, Nuagada and Nimapada. Madhusudan Das attended the session inspite of the sad demise of his brother the previous day.[140] This session realised the importance of carrying on the agitation through propaganda work. Sri

Ananta Mishra was chosen as the 'roving missionary' to tour different places and send reports, which were published in the newspaper 'Asha'. These reports revealed the feelings of the people in the outlying tracts at the grassroot level. The lone endeavour of Anant Mishra in bolstering the Oriya agitation in these regions was praise worthy.

The 11th session of Utkal Union Conference was held at Sambalpur in December 1915. It demanded the declaration of Oriya as a court-language in Singhbhum, Phuljhar, Chandrapur, Padampur and the establishment of a separate University for all Oriya tracts. It also argued for the inclusion of an Oriya representative in the Imperial Council. As the very term 'Oriya' caused embarrassment to the domiciled Bengalis, the word was changed to 'Orissa-inhabitants'. Madhusudan Das could not attend the Conference due to his engagement in the All-India Christian Conference at Allahabad.[141]

The dissatisfaction of the people took a concrete shape in the 12th session of Utkal Union Conference held at Balasore in December 1916. With a view to collecting materials and carrying on continuous executive work of the Conference regarding the union of the Oriya-speaking tracts throughout the year", a committee consisting of seven members was formed by this session. The Utkal Union Committee consisted of Madhusudan Das, Raja of Kanika, Harihar Panda, Braja Sunder Das, Gopabandhu Das, Sudam Charan Nayak and the Raja of Sheragada. The meeting was presided over by the Raja of Manjusha.[142] In this session, the deliberations centred not only around the union of all the Oriya speaking tracts, but also the question of putting them into a separate administrative unit as

well.[143] It also demanded that the Jeypore Agency in Madras be made a separate district and Oriya be introduced there. The agenda also included the claim for setting up of an Engineering School, the opening of M.A. and B.L. classes in Ravenshaw College and the starting of a Sanskrit College at Puri, the beginning of a port in Orissa and the revival of Salt manufacture industry.[144] The Conference was in favour of sponsoring young meritorious students to study engineering, agricultural science, and arranging free education of weavers and training with flying shuttle at Cuttack and organising a fund therefore.

The 13th Conference was held at Cuttack in March 1918 under the Presidentship of Fakir Mohan Senapati. The presence of the great writer lent a special charm to the atmosphere. He in an eloquent speech brought about the significance of, the mother tongue and pointed out that, 'clothing some other nations language as your own would kill the spontaneity of your tongue and brain.[145] It urged again that two Oriya inhabitants be taken as members of the Imperial Council and one in the Provincial executive council. It also incorporated with in its fold the Domiciled Bengali Association who are considered "in every sense indigenous to the Province". This Conference was significant due to the differences and the misunderstanding of the student groups and the delegates of Ganjam with Madhusudan Das. The Satyabadi boys worked as volunteers and impressed the organisers by their discipline and dedication. Gopabandhu Das, the founder of Satyabadi School received appreciation for the excellent training imparted to the students.[146]

A Special Session was held in September 1918 under the Presidentship of Madhusudan Das to review the-

Montague-Chelmsford Report. The Declaration of E.S.Montague on 20 August 1917 that the policy of His Majesty Government ... is the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of British empire had stimulated the interests of the people.

Madhusudan Das argued that this advantage would be gained by forming an administrative unit of the Oriya-speaking Tracts.

> The creation of the Province of Bihar and Orissa on the despatch of Lord Hardinge was done without consulting the people of Orissa. This policy of expediency treats millions of people as a pawn on the chess-board.

He cautioned that if the present position did not improve there would be a friction, which was undesirable.[147] Montague was convinced that least regard was paid to the culture, language and interests of the oriyas in the creation of the Bihar and Orissa Province. So the Joint Report on Indian constitutional Reforms recommended, "In Orissa and Bihar, at all events, it seems to us that the possibility of instituting Sub-Provinces need not be excluded from consideration at an early date". This session was significant for the publication of a paper in English called 'The Oriya' under the editorship of Madhusudan Das, as the Journal of Utkal Union Conference had been stopped only after two issues of publication. However, there was the gradual waning of influence of this aging leader who was now not keeping good health. Towards the end of 1918, Madhusudan Das

announced his retirement from Utkal Union Conference and also from the editorship of the 'Oriya'.[148] He attributed his resignation to utter physical exhaustion. This news came as a great shock and surprise to many people. Utkal Dipika wrote in its editorial

> The Grand old man has laid down his arms. The young veteran to whom Orissa owes the special meeting of the Utkal Conference has laid aside his portfolio and the paper 'the Oriya' is now to go rudderless ....[149]

> The long years of his unchallenged dominance seemed to be losing its shine. It appeared that Oriyas wanted to taste new leadership.[150]

This was very much evident in the next session of Utkal Union Conference which took place at Cuttack on April 1919, under the Presidentship of a young leader, Gopabandhu Das. Here, as a Speaker Madhusudan Das made no secret of his unhappiness at the mounting criticism against him and his policy. He recollected the painstaking effort he made to establish and stabilise the Utkal Union Conference.[151] Gopabandhu Das in his reply paid rich tributes to Madhusudan's profound contribution towards the Oriya nationalism and condemned the criticism of some young people.[152] Undoubtedly, Madhusudan's farsighted political vision brought the Oriya youth and student community under the influence of the Conference where they were provided with political training.[153] The emergence of the Satyabadi group of Scholar-Politicians under the leadership of Gopabandhu Das who advocated priority for the cause of the national struggle for freedom instead of waging a struggle for the

amalgamation of the Oriya-speaking tracts brought a rift in the body-politic of the Utkal Union conference.[154] Gopabandhu Das, who was already associated with Indian National Congress made it clear that the Conference should not remain aloof from national events. The awakened Oriya race should not be led in a stereotyped manner and by joining the national stream of political events it would be easier to achieve the desired results.[155] He indicated that, his interest lay in the wider sphere of the all-India problem.[156] The next session at Puri, which was held under the Presidentship of Chandra Sekhar Behera, attempted to draw Utkal Union Conference closer to All India National Congress. The President pointed out that, when the neighbours of Orissa had taken a longer leap under the British administration, Oriyas were still stagnating.[157] He argued that the time had come when the Conference should join shoulders with the Congress and present the Orissan problem on their platform through regular representations during Congress Sessions.[158]

Though, the attempt was made in the Puri session (1919) of the Utkal Union Conference to make it an organ of the National Congress, yet, it could not be successful. However, it gave further strength to the nationalists of Orissa under the leadership of Gopabandhu. But the speech of Chandra Sekhar Behera marked a significant change in the traditional tone of the Presidents in the Utkal Union Conference. A different mood was in evidence in the 14th and 15th sessions and the assembled masses appeared to be carried away by the ideas of the National Congress. Gopabandhu in his speech on 19 April 1919 had exhorted the oriyas, "if the aim of the Utkal Union Conference was enlightened humanism, it should not remain separate from

the National Congress,[159] Urging the delegates to plunge into the national mainstream of the Congress movement, he said, "Not parochialism but humanism was the goal of Oriya nationalism. It consists of universal love and fullness of life ... Equality, fraternity and liberty are its watchwords.[160] The 'Utkal Dipika' rightly observed that Gopabandhu's address contained matters which were not only suggestive, but open to practical development.[161] Criticising the moderate politics of Utkal Union Conference Gopabandhu urged upon his people to join the freedom movement of India.[162] The Congress wave was already intensifying and a large number of people were getting drawn towards it.

The waning influence of Utkal Union Conference as a mass-force was evident in just a few years' time after its birth. In the 1906 session, it was brought to light that a number of branch associations had disappeared into oblivion. In 1908, an anonymous letter from Puri appeared in under Caption "A friend of 'Utkal' in the 'Odia O Nava Samvad'". It pointed out :

> The most remarkable feature of the utkal, Union Conference is that it is altogether disassociated from politics and its scope is limited to social and industrial question. The Conference is just like a thanks giving body to various officers of the Government .... The Conference has so long been indifferent to the Congress.[163]

The Reports of Ananta Mishra, the 'roving missionary' revealed that Utkal Union Conference had utterly failed to collect representatives from all the Oriya speaking tracts. The 'Asha' lamented that,

> in the last thirteen years even though the idealism and purpose of the Organisation had been well maintained, it had not achieved as much as it should have.[164] The formation of Bihar-Orissa Province excluding Ganjam brought indignation and disappointment among the people. There was a drift to the Congress camp. The squabbles and misunderstanding between the chief organisers surfaced to the front.[165]

The political adversaries of Madhusudan Das, even though agreed that loyality to the British Government and policy of appeasement laid down by the great Oriya leader were expedient at the beginning, yet, they began to question the contemporaneity of the Organisation. Many felt that it was only a personal gamble of a few aristocratic Oriyas who had only charmed the people demagogues and that the organisation for the henchmen of the British Government.[166] These people also felt that it was just a 'one-man show', a sort of 'magician's hypnotism' that hardly evoked any genuine national feeling.[167] The role of the feudatory Chiefs also left a wide credibility gap in the mind of the common man. They largely adorned the 'Utkal Union Conference Sessions and spoke of nationalism and socio economic development of the people, whereas many of them were perpetrators of the worst type of exploitation in their own estates. Although, the Organisation promised to be democratic in character, yet, it seemed that Madhusudan Das was its 'mentor' and he took it upon himself to formulate its policy. Thus, the initial enthusiasm and emotional surcharge gradually eclipsed and the structural loopholes and other short-comings of the Organisation paved the path for its collapse.

The differences between Madhusudan Das and Gopabandhu Das came to the inevitable climax at the Chakradharpur session of the Utkal Union Conference in December 1920. The special session of the National Congress in Calcutta on 4 September 1920 took a firm pledge to attain 'Swarajya',[168] and adopted the policy of progressive non-violent Non-Cooperation inaugurated by Mahatma Gandhi,[169] Gopabandhu whole heartedly supported Mahatma Ghandi stand on Non-Cooperation and decided to launch its programme in Orissa.[170] Other nationalists of Orissa also highly appreciated this programme Madhusudan Das, unable to reconcile with the political ideas of the young nationalists, withdrew his consent to preside over the Chakradharpur session at the last moment and the Reception Committee nominated Jagabandhu Singh of Puri as the President.[171] The Conference was surcharged with the new wave of Non-Cooperation and the followers of Madhusudan like Braja Sunder Das and Biswanath Kar found it difficult to arrest the trend. Even a message from Madhusudan could not be read due to the thunderous cry of 'Shame, Shame' from the congressites. Here, Gopabandhu and his supporters succeeded in adopting two significant resolutions. He moved the first resolution "that the aims and objectives of the Indian National Congress be accepted as those of the Utkal Union Conference in addition to the accepted objectives of the Conference". It was adopted by a vote of 127 against 17.[172] Krushna Chandra Acharya moved the second resolution, "that this Conference wholeheartedly endorses the resolution of the Indian National Congress, recommending the creation of linguistic Provinces Supported by Nilakantha Das, it was also adopted.[173] The Chakradharpur Session of the Conference marked a

triumph of the nationalists over the, moderates. The Utkal Union Conference adopted the Programe of the Congress and continued to meet from time to time demanding the formation of Orissa into a new Province. Leadership of the Oriyas passed from the old and moderate politicians to the young nationalists signifying the beginning of a new chapter in the history of the freedom movement in Orissa.[174] During the two decades of its active existence, the Utkal Union Conference had successfully achieved the political resurgence of the Oriya community and prepared them for the national struggle for freedom.[175]

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CONGRESS MOVEMENT AND THE AGITATION FOR A SEPARATE PROVINCE

Indian nationalism was in a way a synthesis of various regional sub-nationalism including that of Orissa. Yet, there were occasions when the former ran counter to the Oriya struggle, whose main objective was the creation of Orissa into a Separate Province. The freedom movement in Orissa under the aegis of Indian National Congress had two phases : the Age of moderates (1885-1920) and the era of Non-Cooperation and Civil Disobedience (1920-1936). Madhusudan Das was the moving spirit of the political activities in Orissa during the first phase. In the 19th century political consciousness in Orissa had not percolated to the level of the masses. Due to lack of education, it was confined to the small elite class. In 1885, when the Indian National Congress was formed, W.C.Banerjee, the first President of the Congress in his address set as the goal of the Congress, "the eradication by direct, friendly intercourse, of all possible race, creed or Provincial prejudices amongst all lovers of the country and the further development and consolidations of these sentiments of national unity that has their origin in Lord Ripon's reign. Such lofty ideas not only created a lot of

excitement all over the country but also drew the attention of the people from various walks of life.

Madhusudan Das, though spearheaded the *amalgamation* movement through Utkal Union Conference, it may be noted that his relations with the Congress had not been entirely disrupted and the people of Orissa were never indifferent to the Congress activities. On several occasions, he had explained the relations of the Utkal Union Conference with the Congress. once he said:

> Mother Utkal is not separate from Mother India. The former is neither the step-mother nor enemy of the latter. The Utkal Union Conference which consists of the oriyas, Bengalis, Telugus and the Raiputs is a part of Indian Nationalism.[2]

He was one of the Vice-chairman of the Reception Committee of the 27th session of the Congress at Bankipore (Bihar) in 1912.[3] In 1915, he had arranged a garden party in honour of S.N.Banergee on the eve of his visit to Cuttack.[4]

Most of the active members of the Conference were delegates to the Congress sessions year after year. The Oriyas also prepared themselves to share the new experience with the rest of the country. The delegates were chosen invariably from among the pleaders, landholders and members of the elite group. A meeting was organised at Cuttack with Madhusudan Das in the chair, which discussed and approved the Resolutions passed in the 1st All India Congress Session at Bombay.[5] Various ways and means were explored to disseminate the ideas of Congress and to translate them to action. His unflinching faith in

the principles fostered by the Congress was amply demonstrated by a speech delivered at Cuttack on his return from Madras after attending the third session of Indian National Congress in 1887. He said :

> The people of Orissa should work for the country's good side by side with their willingness to improve the administrative, cultural and linguistic conditions of Orissa. Narrow racialism and provincialism should be forgotten for the benefit of the whole of India which constitutes the mother land.[6]

In October of the same year the Orissa Association unanimously decided to function as a Branch Committee of the Indian National Congress.[7] He also exhorted the people to join the national Organisation in their own interest.[8] But, he sincerely believed that the unification of Oriya tracts could not be achieved by the National Congress. In his opinion, the greater Orissa as a distinct political unit, would give a further momentum to Indian nationalism. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, therefore pointed out 'Madhusudan was a mighty Indian first and everything else afterwords.[9]

In the early period (1885-1903), Orissa was sending representatives directly to the Congress, even though it was a part of Bengal Province. When Bengal Provincial Committee was formed to discuss the regional problems, Orissa Association also decided to send the representatives to this organisation. It is to be observed here that no account of Madhusudan Das attending the Congress session any more since fourth National Congress at Allahabad till 1901. Utkal Dipika expressed sorrow at the fact that the coastal Orissa was not sending any

representative to All India Congress for the past few years.[10] It also lamented that in the Bengal Provincial Committee's Sessions, Orissa was conspicuous by the absence of its representatives.[11] In 1888, Madhusudan Das, Jogmohan Ray, Bipin Behari Mitra, Lal Behari Ghosh and Janakinath Bose had attended the session of Bengal Provincial Committee.[12]

The indifference towards Bengal Provincial Committee and the Indian National Congress during this period was partly due to preoccupation of Madhusudan Das as the Member of Legislative Council and his visit to London to impress upon the English official on the various problems of Orissa. But as it seems, Madhusudan Das was convinced that priority to the socio-economic problems of the Oriyas would bring fulfilment to their political ambitions. Therefore, the Orissa Association got diverted from the Congress Organisation and turned towards British authorities. The Orissa Association presented its memoranda to Sir Rivers Thomson, Lieutenant Governor of Bengal in 1885, to Sir Stewart Bailey, Lieutenant Governor of Bengal in 1888, and Sir Henry Cotton, Chief Secretary of Bengal in 1892.[13] Since 1901, he appeared to have severed his connection with the Congress and concentrated on Orissa Associations activities in the amalgamation of Oriya speaking tracts.[14] The calculation of Madhusudan Das that Indian National Congress can not give sufficient weightage to Provincial issues was very much apparent when Risley circular announced the partition of Bengal and merger of the Oriya speaking areas. The people of Bengal denounced this step vehemently and in the Congress session of Madras a resolution was passed which said :

> "... this Congress views with deep concern the present policy of the Government of India in breaking up territorial divisions which have been of long standing and are closely united by ethnological, legislative, social and administrative relations, and the Congress deprecates the separation from Bengal of Dacca, Mymensingh, Chittagong Divisions and portions of Chotnagpur Division, and also the separation of the District of Ganjam, and the Agency tracts of Ganjam and Vizagapatam from Madras Presidency.[15]

The move of the Congress was thus looked upon in Orissa as positively hostile to their interests. If the partition of Bengal was condemned on the basis of nationalist feeling, the same view would have uniformly applied to the unification of oriya tracts as well. The opposition to the separation of Ganjam from Madras was also the result of the influence of anti-Oriya elements within the Congress.

Therefore, Orissa dissociated herself from the Indian National Congress and through the regional forum identified itself with the socio-political aspirations of the Oriya community. If the stature of the Oriya delegates attending the annual Congress Sessions was any indication of this growing disinterestedness, one should not be surprised to see persons like Padan Sahu, an ordinary trader, and Govind Prusti, a goldsmith from Cuttack, and H.M.Choudhury, a petition writer of Puri, as delegates to the Benaras Session of the Congress.[16] According to the Commissioner of Orissa, the Swadeshi and boycott movement had a very mild effect in Orissa.[17] The movement failed to make any dent in the political quietude

of the Division. Even the tone of the local press, so reported the Commissioner, was 'moderate throughout'.[18] However, this indifference and complete placidity did not last long. It is evident from the contemporary newspapers of Orissa that the message of Swadeshi spread to different corners of Orissa like Balasore, Cuttack, Sambalpur and Puri, under the leadership of Abdus Sobhan Khan, Fakir Mohan Senapati, Karunakar Sahu, Daitari Das and host of others. Crowded public meetings were held and people were inspired to resolve that they would not use foreign clothes.[19] Many people not only boycotted foreign clothes, but also started using indigenous salt and sugar, not withstanding their inferior quality.[20] At Puri, the Pleaders and students held two separate meetings and advocated the necessity of indigenous industries. Utkal Dipika reported that the Swadeshi Movement at Cuttack was a great success. Processions were taken with the slogans of 'Bande Mataram', 'Rakhi threads' were bound on the wrists of men as a token of brotherly feeling. Hindus and Muslims made a common cause with one another.[21] Swadeshi articles steadily made their way to the household and even the children were reported to have developed fondness for Swadeshi toys.[22]

But the Swadeshi Movement lost its vigour and force in Orissa due to the clash between the moderates and the extremists in the Surat Session of National Congress in 1907. It created a feeling of uneasiness among the Congress followers in Orissa. Moreover, the attention of the people was diverted to the Morley-Minto proposals on constitutional reforms. There was bitter disappointment over the proposal to create a new Province of Bihar and Orissa instead of unification of the oriya-speaking areas. In addition to this feeling of frustration, the, appearance

of leaders like Gandhiji on the national scene and Gopabandhu Das on the socio-political arena of Orissa dealt a severe blow to the confidence of the moderates in the British Government and an anti Government swing appeared a distinct possibility.[23]

The political ideas changed with the emergence of Gandhi on the scene. The first world war made the ivory castle of 19th century Political ideas tumble. Politics dominated by the upper-class aristocrats was taken to the masses by Gandhiji through Indian National Congress. In Orissa, the emergence of Gopabandhu Das gave a totally unexpected turn to the Congress activities. He left an indelible impression on the political movement in Orissa. The Resolution regarding the national education passed in the Congress session at Calcutta in 1906 profoundly influenced his career. In order to implement this programme, he established the 'Satyabadi Vana Vidyalaya' at Sakhigopal in Puri district. A group of exceptionally brilliant and devoted teachers such as Harihara Das, Nilakantha Das, Krupasindhu Mishra, Lingaraj Mishra and Godavarish Mishra moulded and shaped the character of the students. The teachers produced a rich crop of literature which marked the beginning of a new era in Oriya literature.[24] Once, Madhusudan Das said that, "there is no doubt that the progress of the nation depended to a large extent on the teachers and their pupils. Gopabandhu and his colleagues of the Satyabadi School are determined to build the future men of this country".[25] Indeed, Satyabadi School became the very heart of Orissa's political consciousness. These new leaders of Oriya society moulded the Orissan history and culture to such an extent as to lend justification to the 1920s being called 'Satyabadi Era'.[26]

After attending the Lucknow Session of the Congress, Gopabandhu plunged into Congress Organisation and made an all out endeavour to give a new life to it in Orissa.[27] Satyabadi School gradually began expanding its sphere of influence and was slowly becoming the confluence, where newer streams of social and political philosophies were converging. Gopabandhu took up the responsibility of watering the plants of the Congress in Orissa, the seeds of which were sown by Madhusudan Das.[28] He worked assiduously for the Congress organisation and even used the platform of the Utkal Union Conferences to carry on his mission amongst the masses.[29] Gopabandhu brought a transformation in the character of Congress movement in Orissa.

The emergence of Gopabandhu Das added considerably to the eclipsing of the personality of Madhusudan Das, who for a long time held sway the Oriya political scene. Madhusudan Das had taken upon his shoulders the onus of unifying the outlying tracts of Orissa as well as elevating the general standard of the Oriyas to a decent level in all fronts. But in the course of the struggle, he tended to become too domineering and this started having its repercussions.[30] An anonymous letter sent from Puri and published in 'Odia O Navasamvad' (a weekly from Balasore) had ridiculed the idea that the Utkal Union Conference should be just a 'thanks giving body' with no concern for the Congress programme[31] and with no concrete achievement to its credit. The letter said :

> All Provincial conferences while working independently should at the same-time subordinate their own interests to the interests of the great Indian National Congress, which is the centre, the foster

mother of all public movements in India.[32] It again criticised the orissan politics as one man's show'.[33]

With his increasing age and with the gradual change in the political atmosphere in the Indian scene. Madhusudan Das started loosing his grip on the Organisation.

Gopabandhu realised that of freeing India from the British bondage was a prime importance and believed that the Oriya cause would be better served by this identification. He made a whirwind tour and propagated that the National movement was forging ahead and its reactions are felt in Orissa ... if Orissa did not join the main stream of the Indian National Congress, she may lose her identity altogether.[34] In his address of the 14th session of Utkal Union Conference, held at Cuttack, he exhorted the Oriyas, if the aim of the Utkal Union Conference was enlightened humanism, it should not remain separate from the National Congress.[35] He urged the abandonment of the 'stereotyped' way of 'agitation' and joining the main stream of Indian politics, for inculcations of new inspiration and new spirit in the Oriyas. He emphasised that 'Not parochialism but humanism was the goal of Oriya nationalism'.

The language of Gopabandhu which was full of such ideas as non-violence, truth and universal love caught on. The people in general started assessing the two groups. The rift came to the open with the resignation of Madhusudan Das from the editorship of 'the Oriya' and his trusted friend Braja Sunder Das from his assignment. Utkala Dipika wrote, "Gopabandhu's address at Cuttack on 20 April 1919 was a masterpiece such as never delivered

any time before, even though the Utkal Union Conference met 14 times, year after year. His address contained matters which were not only suggestive, but open to practical development".[36] Criticising the poor performance of the conference, he urged the Oriyas to give up old methods of agitation and Join the broad currents of Indian politics.[37]

The publication of a weekly newspaper, 'The Samaj' helped Gopabandhu to propagate the message and programme, of the Indian National Congress among the countrymen. The first issue of 'The Samaj' came out on Dasahara 4 October 1919.[38] It became the mouth piece of the Congress movement in Orissa.

The passing of Montague-Chelmsford Reform Act in 1919 extremely dissatisfied the Indians, because they had been looking forward to a much greater concessions from the British as a reward for their support to the British in the world war. The Muslim faction was also displeased and as a sequel to the treaty of severes, the Khalift movement began in support of the Turks. Gandhi looked upon this dissatisfaction draped environment in the country as the most opportune moment to strike. Moreover, the brutal massacre of innocent men and women by General Dyer at Jalianwelbagh of Amirtsher shocked the coinscience of Gandhiji. Hence, he gave a nation wide call for unity and non-cooperation, which was discussed in the Special Session of the National Congress at Calcutta and subsequently adopted in Nagpur Session of the Congress in 1920. Gopabandhu Das and Jagabandhu Singh of Orissa attended this session and supported the policy of Progressive Non-violent Non-cooperation.[39] At Nagpur, Gopabandhu had succeeded in persuading Gandhi to adopt the principle of the formation of linguistic Provinces.[40]

The Provincial Congress Committee had already been set up in Orissa with Gopabandhu as the President, sayed Ekram Rosul as the Vice-President and Bhagirathi Mohapatra as the Secretary.[41]

Chakradharpur Session of Utkal Union Conference in 1920 :

The 16th session of Utkal Union-Conference was fixed on 30 December 1920, to be held at Chakradharpur. It was an important town in Singhbhum, where recently the Oriya movement had gained momentum. This session was destined to be memorable as it led to the identification of aims and ideas with the National Congress. Madhusudan Das had declined to preside over the session. So, Jagabandhu Singh had to honour the Chair.[42] Most of the delegates, who had been to Nagpur to attend the session of Indian National Congress, came straight to Chakradharpur to attend the 16th annual session of Utkal Union Conference. Jagabandhu Singh was accorded a great ovation on his arrival by Bombay Mail on the morning of 29 December 1920.[43] Around 200 delegates from all over the Oriya speaking areas attended the session. The representation from Ganjam was poor. But never before, such large number of delegates and visitors had attended the annual session of Utkal Union Conference. The Chakradharpur session of Utkal Union Conferences was a personal triumph for Gopabandhu. Here Gopabandhu and his supporters succeeded in adopting two resolutions. He moved the first resolution "that the aims and objectives of the Indian National Congress be accepted as those of the Utkal Union Conference in addition to the accepted objectives of the Conference." Supported by Chandra Sekhar Behera, it was adopted by a vote of 127 against

17.[44] Krushna Chandra Acharya moved the second resolution : "that this Conference wholeheartedly endorses the resolution of the Indian National Congress recommending the creation of linguistic Provinces. Supported by Nilakantha Das, it was also adopted.[45] Jagabandhu Singh, the President indicated that since Congress had already adopted the principle of forming the linguistic Provinces and had accordingly recognised Orissa as a Separate Unit, the Oriyas should have no hesitation in coming into the fold of the Congress and trying to present their case. He supported unequivocally the non-cooperation principle initiated by the Congress while laying stress on the question of amalgamation of the Oriya tracts. The Utkal Union Conference adopted the programme of the Congress in principle, but it did not merge with the National Congress. It continued to meet from time to time, demanding the formation of Orissa into a new Province. The Oriya nationalists who remained glued to their old ideas of keeping Utkal Union Conference were referred to as the 'moderates' for their compromising attitude towards the British Government.

Gopabandhu Das and his associates marked a triumph of the nationalist cause due to their strong influence in the Singhbhum region, which for the first time witnessing the Utkal Union Conference session in its own place. The Moderates always, concentrated their activities in and around Cuttack, whereas Singhbhum on the otherhand had come more in touch with the Satyavadin.[46] Since 1919, Godavarish Mishra had been working in Chakradharpur in order to intensify the Oriya movement. Due to the efforts of Krupasindhu Mishra and Gopabandhu, the people of Singhbhum were more familiar with these personalities, who dominated the Chakradharpur session.

The Oriya people of Singhbhum who longed for amalgamation never had any glimpse of Madhusudan Das.[47] This had its impact on the proceedings of Chakradharpur Session where the moderates could not muster up enough strength in contrast with the pro-congress group, who were on their way back from Nagpur and carried with them the fresh memories of Gandhi's clarion call for non-cooperation.[48] Gandhi had given the hope that the freedom would be won within a year. So the eagerness to be associated, with the Congress found much favour. Gopabandhu's unassuming yet firm personality, his ability to captivate the heart of every individual through oration won him the day. His image as a leader soared up after Chakradharpur session and he emerged as the unassailable leader of the Oriya people.[49] The movement launched by Madhusudan Das for effecting the amalgamation of the Oriya speaking tracts was now suspended in favour of a mass movement for 'Swaraj' led by Satyabadi group under Gopabandhu Das.[50] The Utkal Union Conference appeared to function on a subdued note and the Congress organisation emerged as the symbol of the nationalistic aspiration of the people.

Non-Cooperation Movement :

The Nagpur Session of Indian National Congress brought a revolutionary change in the Congress Organisation. The changes were (i) formation of a working committee of 15 members; (ii) formation of an all India Committee of 350 members; (iii) formation of Congress Committee from town to village level, (iv) reorganisation of Provincial Congress Committees on a linguistic basis and (v) opening of Congress membership to all men and women of the age of 21 or more on payment of 4 annas as

annual subscription.[51] This was the first positive move on the part of the Congress to make it a real mass based political party. Gandhi emerged as the mass leader with a novel weapon of *Satyagraha*. It adopted the programme of the nationalisation of education; the promotion of indigenous goods, the popularisation of Charkha, the enrolment of a volunteer corps boycott of law courts, educational institutions, election to the legislatures, official functions, surrender of honours and titles conferred by the British.

In Orissa, the Provincial Committee, called Utkal Pradesh Congress Committee was constituted in 1921. An executive Committee of the Provincial Congress Committee was also formed consisting of twelve numbers.[52] It was followed by District Committees in Cuttack, Balasore, Puri, Sambalpur and Ganjam.[53]

Once the Congress found itself launched in a bigway into the political scene, it preferred to maintain a distinct identity of its own, without being tagged to Utkal Union Conference There was in Orissa no dearth of enthusiastic supporters either to lead the Congress Organisation, or to execute its programme of non-cooperation. Besides Gopabandhu Das and his associates, leaders like Nabakrishna Choudhury, Nityananda Kanungo, Braja Mohan Panda, Laxminarayan Mishra, Chandrasekhar Behera, Atal Bihari Acharya, Rajkrishna Bose and Gopabandhu Choudhury were wedded to the ideas of Gandhi.[54] Hare Krishna Mahatab mentions that a group of youngmen including him founded a library in Bakhrabad, Cuttack in 1919 and named it "Bharati Mandira".[55] Regular discussions on political, national, local and international matters took place here. The Samaj edited by Gopabandhu

Das and the Utkal Dipika, published from Cuttack and edited by Gouri Sankar Ray gave wide publicity to the new wave of national resurgence in Orissa. Another factor which possibly contributed to the buoyance of the Congress activities was the visit of Gandhi in March 1921 to Orissa. He addressed several meetings organised at Cuttack, Bhadrak, Puri, Berhampur and other places.[56] Where ever, he went, he assured the public that if his programme would be adhered to, freedom could be achieved in just about a year's time.[57] This created tremendous excitement all over the place and the Congress Organisation received the necessary boost. Utkal Dipika wrote, "the atmosphere of non-cooperation has pervaded the whole country. It has attracted many talented women too.[58] Prominent among the women workers were Sarala Devi, Malati Choudhuri and Rama Devi. A local newspaper by way of information wrote that by the 30 June 1921, Orissa had about 40,000 Congress Workers and as many as Rs.22,000/- were raised for Tilak Swaraj Fund.[59]

Gopabandhu made extensive tours throughout Orissa and kept himself in touch with the Organisation and activities of the district committees. He also attempted to affiliate the Singhbhum District Congress Committee with the Utkal Pradesh Congress Committee.[60] He also toured the Oriya speaking tracts of the Central provinces and Madras presidency and thus roused congress consciousness all over Orissa.[61]

The non-cooperation movement in Orissa started in full swing in February 1921. One of the items of the non-cooperation programme was the gradual withdrawal of students from Government and Government aided schools and colleges. The students of the Zilla School, Sambalpur

were the pioneer in the movement. Jagannat Mishra, the grandson of Dharanidhar Mishra, a student of Class X became a source of inspiration to his friends, who were no less interested in joining the national movement. On the 2 January 1921, they held a meeting at the foothill of Budharaja and took the decision to boycott the classes.[62] The students under the leadership of Jagannath Mishra, Laxminarayan Mishra, Chandrasekhar Panigrahi, Abdul Muzid, and Nrusingha Guru went round the town and called for a complete 'Hartal'. The walls of the school were filled with posters bearing slogans like 'Do not go to School'.[63] Senior leaders like Chandra Sekhar Behera and Janardana Supkar called on the students to join the national school, which was started in Fraser Club of Jharsuguda. Nilakantha Das, Bhagirathi Mishra and many others worked as teachers. Two hundred students took admission in the school. Majority of them worked in an honorary capacity and only few of them were getting some nominal pay,[64] Students received training in crafts, spinning and weaving etc. Janglee Mistri and Gourang Meher were appointed for making Charkhas and looms respectively. There was also provision for Hindi teaching.[65] The students exhibited keen interest for the social services in the vicinity of Sambalpur like helping the destitute and nursing the people suffering from cholera. It is a matter of pride on the part of Orissa that Sambalpur became an example before Calcutta.[66] From Government records, it is known that there was a noisy demonstation in Sambalpur Zilla School and a strike at Ravenshaw College, Cuttack.[67] Hare Krushne Mahatab, Nabakrushna Choudhury, Nityananda Kanungo, Jadumani Mangaraj, Karunakar Panigrahi, Bansidhar mishra, Narayan Birabora Samanta, Rajkrushna Bose and many others left their studies at

Cuttack and joined the movement.[68] At Balasore, Nilambar Das, Subodh Chandra De and Biswanath Hota left their Schools and joined the movement.[69] Banchanidhi Mohanty of Bhadrak, who was studying law, discontinued his studies and enrolled himself in the movement. Ganesh Prasad Padhi, Chakradhar Panda, Madan Mohan Patnaik, Dukhishyam Mishra and Binod Bihari Parida left the Patna Engineering College.[70] Nanda Kishore Mishra and Arjun Panigrahi of Parlakimedi left Pachiappa College, Madras.[71] Bhagirathi Mishra left the Calcutta law college. Thus, the non-cooperation movement attracted a large number of students who later on played an important role as freedom fighters.

In accordance with the resolutions of the Indian National Congress, many eminent people of Orissa left their lucrative jobs and carried on the movement to the nook and corner of Orissa. Jagabandhu Singh sacrificed his law practice. Gopabandhu Choudhury resigned the Govt. job. Nilakantha Das gave up his teaching job in the Calcutta University and went for Sambalpur to work for the non-cooperation movement. Godavarish Mishra converted his schools in Singhbhum into National Schools. Purna Chandra Das and Raghunath Misra resigned from teachership. Khetra Mohan Mohanty and Hari Charan Mohanty also gave up their Government jobs.[72] Gopabandhu moved from place to place like the apostle of Non-cooperation explaining the meaning of Swaraj and exhorting that each individual should play a role for the attainment of it. Sribatsa Panda of Ganjam resigned from the post of Sub-Registrar.

The boycott of schools and Colleges was accompanied by the establishment of national schools in

Orissa. Besides Satyabadi School in Puri and a school on Satyavadi model at Jharsuguda, a number of schools were established at Jagatsinghpur, Sambalpur, Chakradharpur, Berhampur and Parlakhemundi.[73] National Schools also sprang up at Balasore, Bhadrak, Basta, Soro and Guamala.[74] In addition to these the 'Utkal Swaraj Siksha Parishad' (National Educational Council) was set up at Cuttack.Gopabandhu Das and Nanda Kishore Das were its Chairman and Secretary respectively.[75]

Besides these educational institutions 'Ashramas' were set up to house the supporters of non-cooperation and to give training for village propaganda.[76] The 'Swaraj Ashram' at Cuttack, Alanashram at Jagatsinghpur, 'Swaraj Mandir at Balasore and many others became the touring centres of wholetime political workers.

The boycott of British courts by lawyers and litigants and the establishment of private arbitration courts was also put into operation in Orissa. In response to the call of the Congress Bhagirathi Mohapatra at Cuttack, Jagabandhu Singh at Puri, Mahendranath Verma and Achutananda Purohit at Sambalpur renounced their lucrative practice and exhibited a sense of discipline and Sacrifice. Young India wrote that, several batches of propaganda workers were touring the 'Moffasil' centres and have organised arbitration courts in Orissa. This fact is corroborated by the Government report that the courts were formed in a number of centres with the object of discouraging the litigants from bringing their cases to the ordinary courts of justice.[77] The result of this was that the landlords could not file rent-suits against tenants.[78] This programme attracted the common people of the villages to the Non-cooperation ideal.

Prohibition programme of the movement was to save the drunkards from the hurtful effect of drinking and 'depriving the Government of the revenue it received from the sale of liquor'.[79] This programme appealed to the people of Orissa, because, most of the people were teetotallers. Congress volunteers picketed before the liquor shops to prevent the sale of the drink. Meetings were organised to explain the ruinous effect of drinking. Appeals were made to the traders not to 'import foreign liquors.[80] Similar appeals were made to those who produced country liquors.

The ideas of 'Swadeshi' and boycott of foreign cloth produced a great impact on the people of Orissa. Gandhi had made his ideas clear about the boycott of foreign goods in the 'Young India'.[81] In his opinion *Swadeshi* meant the increase in the production of indigenous goods and use of 'Khadi'. Cloth merchants of Cuttack, Puri, Balasore, Berhampur and Sambalpur were persuaded not to import cloth from Lanchashire and Manchestor in London. The cartmen with the advice of the congress volunteers abstained from carrying the bales to the shops, [82] The congress volunteers toured the rural areas to popularise the 'Charkha' and 'Khadi'. Hundreds of *Charkhas* now began to hum the homes in Orissa Sambalpur in 1922, headed in *Khadi* and *Charkha* movement.[83] The district is noted for 'tie and dye' weaving in cotton and tusar, silk, bringing out most artistic designs from the loom like magic. Ganesh Prasad Padhi and Jarglee Mistri took up the cause of the movement and opened many *charkha* centres in Bargarh, Barpali, Jharsuguda and Talpatis. Due to their efforts, Sambalpur has retained its skill in handloom industry even today.

When the spirit of nationalism was at its peak, Gandhi visited Orissa and went round Bhadrak, Cuttack, Satyavadi, Puri and Berhampur. This visit intensified the freedom movement in Orissa,[84] and the members of the congress party increased. As a result of the great drive made by the leaders and volunteers, donations to the 'Tilak Swaraj Fund' reached Rs.25,000 before 4 July 1921,[85] and membership to 54,085 before 7 December 1921.[86] About 15,000 *charkhas* were plying in Orissa by 9 July 1921.[87] Bonfires and meetings were organised at Cuttack with the accompaniment of Sankirtan Party.[88] According to the Government Report, 'Bonfires were common also on Gandhiji's 53rd birth anniversary (2 October 1921) in many places of the Province.[89] At Cuttack, the Hartal was observed on the eve of Prince of Wales visit to Bombay and there was complete suspension of business. Gandhi gave a message to the people of Orissa through the delegates who attended the Ahamadabad Session of Indian National Congress by telling that, Utkal hunts me. Give the message to *charkha* to every home. Make Utkal the storehouse of khaddar for the rest of India. Feed the hungry men and women. This is the best political training you can give to your people.[89A]

This message gave a great encouragement to the movement in Orissa. There was a great awakening amongst the students, who were organised under the leadership of Biswanath Kar. There was a strong opposition to the old and moderate leadership.[90] They published a leaflet criticising Madhusudan Das's acceptance of ministership of Bihar and Orissa. It said "Atlast Madhusudan Das, a Government servant is drawing Rs.60,000 from malaria of Balasore, famine of Puri and floods of Cuttack".[91]

The movement did not remain confined to the urban areas only. The students moved from place to place and explained the meaning and significance of the non-cooperation movement to the rural masses. The 'Swarai ashram' in the district headquarters maintained regular communication with the villages. Mass awakening of the people made the movement a great success. The success of the movement in Orissa led Chittaranjan Das to send two observers to study the progress of the movement. A vigorous drive against the untouchability and spread of education was made among the Harijans. The depressed class of people also joined the movement under the leadership of Sukumar Tanti, Kasturam Tanti and Kanaram Tanti of Sambalpur.[92]

The Government's reaction to the Non-Cooperation Movement was one of determination to scotch it.[93] The Chief Secretary to the Government of Bihar and Orissa suggested a vigorous drive to mobilise the support of the loyal group of landed aristocrats, ruling chiefs and Government officials to neutralise the effect of the seditious speeches of congress leaders.. He was in favour of strong action under the provisions of the Indian Penal Code and Criminal Procedure Code to deal with the offences like holding of seditious meetings and circulation of seditious literature. He was not reluctant to interm seditious persons without trial under the Defence of India Rules, or Regulation III of 1818, but thought that such action should be resorted to as a last measure.[94] Accordingly the Government issued the famous Rainy circular,[95] intimating the District officers that "the Government views the movement with utter disapproval, as tending to lawlessness and ultimately to anarchy and

that they will not hesitate to employ all lawful and reasonable means to combat it. When the movement showed no signs of abatement, the Government struck.[96] Rajkrishna Bose was arrested on 21 June 1921 Orissa's first political prisoner and was sentenced to one year's imprisonment.[97] In the true spirit of a Satyagrahi he did not defend himself. Against such swelling tide of popular enthusiasm, the native newspapers, excepting the Samaj and Utkal Sevak maintained an attitude of unusual calm and moderation. A defamation case with the connivance, of the Chief Secretary and S.P. of Puri, was filed against Gopabandhu, the editor of Samaj for publishing a news item, 'serious if true' in his paper on 13 August 1921. He was put in the prison as an under trial prisoner. However, the trying magistrate, Suresh Chandra Bose, elder brother of Subas Chandra Bose, honourably acquitted Gopabandhu on account of want of evidence. His acquittal spread like wild fire, as his arrest had aroused widespread enthusiasm. Of course, S.C.Bose incurred the displeasure of the Government and subsequently resigned from his office. Besides Gopabandhu, a number of leaders like Jadumani Mangaraj, Kamruddin Ituq, Krutibas Nanda, Digambar Srichandan, Ananta Mishra, Govind Misra, Maulavi Hussain, Balaji Ramdas, Satyabadi Nanda, Nanda Kumar Puhan, Balaram Das, Jagabandhu Chakravarthy, Daitari Sahu, Baikuntha Rana, Ramachandra Panigrahi, Madhusudan Misra, Lachhman Tripathy, Nisakar Mishra, Banchhanidhi Mohanty, Hare Krushna Mahtab, Bhairaba Chandra Mahapatra, Abhiram Nanda, Mathura Mohan Behera and Purna Chandra Naik were arrested on various charges and imprisoned.[98] A good deal of underground agitation was going on throughout Orissa.[99] Leaders of the non-cooperation were in readiness to 'wait orders from

Gandhi whose pronouncements were regarded as more important than those of Government.[100]

When Gandhi was getting ready for the Bardoli campaign in Gujurat, news came like a thunderclap about the ghastly mob outrage at chauri choura in the United Province.[101] The Congress Working Committee resolved to suspend sinedie the mass Civil Disobedience Movement. After this, there was a "lull in the Non-cooperation Movement in Orissa which appeared to be on the wane.[102] Even after the suspension of the movement, the machinery of repression did not cease. There started a devastating arsons in different parts of Orissa. According to the Government Report "from 19 to 26 March 1922, there has been a series of fires in Cuttack town. The people believed that the fires were caused by the wrath of God at Gandhi's arrest.[103] But the police officers created the impression that incendiarism had been a premdiated plan of the Congress in order to discredit the Government and destroy Government offices. The Government believed that 'the trouble was due to bad characters sheltering behind the non-cooperation leaders, who doubtless, encouraged them in the hope of making things difficult for the Government.[104] But in fact, it was the work of anti social elements being supported by the police or their agent.[105] 'The Panic' was so wide spread that the people in the towns and villages not only remained alert throughout the night, but also, did not allow the police constables, to tour their village or lane.

However, a sudden slump in the zeal of the people for the congress work could be marked when Gandhi and other important leaders were taken in custody and put behind the bars. Orissa witnessed the rise of many young

leaders in the persons of Hare Krushna Mahtab, Gopabandhu Choudhury, Naba Krishna Choudhury, and Rama Devi. The great tradition of committed leadership that had been built up in Orissa was taken up by Gopabandhu Choudhury. He began to take interest in Oriya problem and thought of reviving the Utkal Union Conference, the memory of Orissa Association still lingered on nostalogically in the public mind On the 3 February 1923, a meeting was held at the 'Asha office in Berhampur under the Chairmanship of Sashi Bhusan Rath to consider ways and means of revitalising the Utkal Union Conference.[106] It was emphasised in this meeting that Utkal Union Conference was never a part of the congress and it had never endorsed non-cooperation.[107]

It seems that the moderates though lost to the congress in the battle of votes. Yet the public identified the Utkal Union Conference to the Oriya problem. This was partly due to the apathy of the congress leaders towards the Utkal Union Conference. Gopabandhu Choudhury appealed to the people to attend the 17th session of the Utkal Union Conference,[108] Gopabandhu Das was in jail. This session passed resolution relating to the use of indigenous cloth, spread of elementary education, establishment of Ayurvedic Schools and hospitals and the formation of national fund. The permanent body of Utkal Union Conference met very frequently. Even, Gopabandhu Choudhury invited Utkal Union Conference to have its next session at Cuttack.[109] It looked as though Utkal Union Conference had comeback to life with various congress leaders taking interest in it, and the non-cooperation receding to the background.[110] But the sudden resignation of Gopabandhu Choudhury surprised every one and there

was the setback to the revival of Utkal Union Conference. Utkal Dipika wrote, "It appears, he was very much dissatisfied with the Government's reply to Bhubanananda Das's demand for amalgamation in the Legislative Council.[111] Gopabandhu Choudhury made his stand clear through a letter to Utkal Dipika that, 'the condition within the Utkal Union Conference at the moment was not congenial to tackle the situation in the country. He believed, " it was also doubtful, if such an organisation could achieve, amalgamation since it was too insignificant a body now and its attitude of appeasement towards the British Government could achieve precious little .... it is not proper to divide the force into two streams it is but reasonable that the people must remain in and work for only one Organisation and that is Congress.[112]

The Congress in Orissa arranged a Conference of the Provincial Congress Committee at Cuttack in June 1924.[113] Acharya Prafulla Chandra Ray of Bengal was the President of the Conference. He had sympathy towards the Oriya problem.[114] In the meantime, the Government had announced in 1924 that the Philiph-Duff enquiry committee would be coming to Ganjam to study the question of the amalgamation of this region with Orissa. A new body called 'Provincial Committee' was formed to campaign in Ganjam before the Philiph-Duff Committee started its enquiry. Simultaneously, the moderates in Utkal Union Conference formed a Sub-Committee called 'Amalgamation Committee' and decided to meet separately the Philiph-Duff enquiry commission. However, the Provincial Congress was all for the amalgamation agitation alongside the freedom struggle for India. In the Utkal Pradesh Provincial Congress Committee session at

Cuttack, Madhusudan Das was enrolled as the member of Congress Party.[115] Another notable achievement was the formation of the Utkal Women's Conference, sponsored by Sarala Devi. Other leading members of this Organisation were Rasomoni Dei, Haimavati Dei and Kishoremani Dei.[116] This was the most encouraging phase of the freedom movement in Orissa, when the conservative Oriya women gave up their security of their home to suffer the privation of public life.[117]

With Gopabandhu Das in jail, the Congress Organisation in Orissa developed the crisis of leadership and lack of party discipline and unity. Nilakantha, Godavaris and other members of the Satyavadi group formed the 'Swarajya Party' in February 1923 making the Congress Party in Orissa.[118] Both the Congress Party and the Swarajya Party joined electioneering after the decision infavour of council entry at the Delhi session of Indian National Congress in 1923. Nilakantha Das and Bhubanananda Das got elected to the Central Legislative Assembly, and Godavaris, Jagabandhu, Radharanjan Das and Bhagabat Prasad Mohapatra to the Legislative Council of Bihar and Orissa. The Swarajya Party secured the working majority in most of the District Boards. Thus, old and experienced members were substituted by exuberant and inexperience members. The Local Boards soon became the platform for, the propagation of political views and to popularise the ideas of Swadeshi.[119]

Although, Gandhi's promise to bring Swaraj within a year failed and the Non-cooperation Movement was suspended, yet, it can not be denied that his ideas and the message of the Congress spread to the remotest corner of far-off villages.[120] It made the inert masses of Orissa hold

enough to challenge the Government, exacting Zamindars and the oppressive feudatory chiefs Spining and weaving were activised. Orissa made a great advance in the matter of production and use of Khaddar. Steps were taken to make spinning compulsory in Primary Schools, which earned them the Government's threat to withdraw grants from the local Boards.[121] The Inspector of All India Congress Khaddar Department paid high tribute to the workers of Utkal for their achievement.[122] The Utkal Provincial Congress Committee held conferences at regular intervals to keep up the image of the Congress organisation.[123] The district level Congress committees continued functioning, the use of Khaddi was popularised, and the evils of untouchability were brought home to the people. It made the masses conscious of their strength to brave the repressive policy of the mighty Government, though the political scene in Orissa for few years was calm and placid.

The political barometer in Orissa was again shot up with the proposed visit of the Simon Commission. In 1927, the Government announced the formation of a commission under John Simon to study the effectiveness of the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms Act. Due to the non-inclusion of any Indian, the congress, at Madras decided to boycott it. In the same year the congress at Madras resolved that Sindh, Karnataka, Andhra and Orissa would be constituted into separate administrative units.[124] Such a resolution, though, enhanced the faith of the Oriya Congress leaders in the National Congress, yet, the moderates were still sceptical, about the moves of the Congress. On the one hand Prajatantra a pro-congress Newspaper in Orissa wrote "... Simon Commission should be boycotted everywhere. This we say not in the interest

of India only, for Orissa as well".[125] On the other hand the moderates constituted a committee known as "The Orissa Liberal League" to appear before the Commission and present the case of oriyas.[126] They started propagating the view that the Commission instead of being boycotted should be warmly welcomed in the interest of Orissa. The Commission, however, never came to Orissa. It took evidence from Oriya members of the Bihar Orissa Legislative Assembly that included the chief of Kanikaand Lakshmidhar Mohanty. The Commission arrived at Patna on 12 November 1928. It met a hostile demonstration of 50,000 men.[127] But the Orissa Deputation had waited on the platform to welcome, it with the placard "Orissa welcomes the Simon Commission.[128] The Legislative Committee presented a memorial to the Commission in which it was said, "Government of Bihar and Orissa would not be opposed to a scheme of satisfying a long standing and wholly legitimate aspiration of the politically minded class of Orissa".[129] Braja Sundar Das gave evidence before the commission that, a Province was our ultimate goal which would consist of all the scattered Oriya tracts. To tide over the financial difficulties, the oriyas would be prepared to go into any fresh avenue of taxation for meeting the requirements of the new Government'.[130]

The Simon Commission in its report about the need for the Provincial redistribution pointed out : 'an urgent case for consideration and treatment is that of the Oriya speaking peoples, most, but not all, of whom are now included in Orissa, because so close a union as now exists between Orissa and Bihar, is a glaring example of the artificial connection of areas which are not naturally related. We were so much impressed with this instance that we arranged, in cooperation with the Indian Central

Committee, and Bihar and Orissa Provincial Committee, for the appointment of a Sub-Committee to investigate more in detail.[131] The sub-committee with Major Attlee as its chairman included Dr.Suhrawardy from Indian Central Committee, and Raja of Kanika and Laxmidhar Mohanty from Bihar and Orissa Provincial Committee.[132] This committee after detailed investigation into the glaring artificial connection of the oriya lands with the local Government, submitted its report. The Committee reported that 'the grievance was well founded, the demand substantially supported by the people and the Oriya case deserving sympathy.[133] It recommended the creation of Orissa as a Separate Province. The Sub-Committee had recommended that the Separate Province of Orissa shall comprise the Orissa Division, Orissa Feudatory States, Khariar, greater part of Ganjam district and agency areas inhabited by the Khonds.

The Indian National Congress which had boycotted the Simon Commission formed an All Parties Conference with Motilal Nehru as its Chairman to study in depth, the Provincial redistribution problem. The Committee's report known as Nehru Committee Report observed, "what principles should govern this redistribution ? Partly geographical, partly economic and financial but the main consideration must necessarily be the wishes of the people and the linguistic unity of the area concerned". But it had not made any specific recommendation for Orissa on account of the absence of any special memorandum or representation by the oriyas.[135] It stated that our colleague Subhas Chandra Bose is however satisfied that the Oriya speaking area should be amalgamated and constituted into a Separate Province if this is financially possible.[136]

The report drew a lot of criticism from various quarters in Orissa. The scepticism regarding financial feasibility expressed in the Report came under fire even from many congress men. The Reports, however made it clear that the congress at the national level was still indifferent to the Oriya problem. This could be either due to the fact that the Oriya congress members had failed to represent their case in proper perspective or that the congress deliberately evaded the issue in the face of rising Hindu-Muslim problem which forced them to take keener interest in Sindh.[137] The congress wanted to appease the Muslims of the country by granting them a larger number of Muslim majority provinces in India. Equal response to Oriya demand for separation at this juncture would have probably devalued their intended concession to the Muslims.

The Indian National Congress met at Deshabandhunagar, Calcutta in December 1928 under the Presidency of Motilal Nehru. Niranjan Patnaik. One of the 300 Oriya delegates attending the session, proposed an amendment to the Nehru Report. But, he was interrupted and was not allowed to carry on by the President. On the otherhand, the President made a sarcastic remark against the Oriya delegates for their cooperation with the Simon Commission. The Oriya delegates were greatly offended and took offence to some of the statements by the President and left the meeting in protest, Motilal Nehru is reported to have sent Pattabi Sittaramaya to an Oriya protest meeting next day with an apology for his behaviour.[138] Both Motilal Nehru and Gandhi had assured that the oriya issue would be very sympathetically considered.[139]

Thus, the period in between the suspension of the

Non-Cooperation Movement and the launching of Civil Disobedience Movement was marked by the continuation of the Gandhian constructive programme and the struggle for the formation of Orissa into a separate Province. There was cooperation between the moderates and the nationalists. This period also witnessed the rise of the youth movement in the country.[140] They formed a new group inside the congress, known as 'Independence League'. It had branches in Orissa too under the leadership of Bansidhar Misra and Rajkrushna Bose. The youth movement created a new atmosphere and paved the way for another significant phase of national movement.

The Civil Disobedience Movement :

The premature death of Gopabandhu Das in 1928, who was the main architect of the congress movement in Orissa, led to an immediate vaccum in the political leadership of Orissa. The mantle of leadership fell now upon younger men : Gopabandhu Choudhury, Hare Krushna Mahtab, Nilakantha Das, Raj Krishna Bose, Bhagirathi Mohapatra, Bhubanananda Das, Laxminarayan Mishra and Biswanath Das. The Utkal students Conference functioned as a younger branch of the Congress Party.[141] The role of the moderates and the congress leaders of Orissa entered a new phase with the call of Gandhi to join the Civil Disobedience movement in 1929. The Utkal Pradesh Congress Committee at a general meeting on 19 January 1930 welcomed the Lahore Resolution and called upon the District Congress committees to make effective arrangement for the implementation of the Resolution. At Lahore Session, it was decided that the goal of India's struggle for freedom would be "Purna Swaraj" and 26 January would be celebrated as the Independence Day. The

declaration to be read out on the day was as follows :

"We believe that it is the inalienable right of the Indian people to have freedom and to enjoy the fruits of their, toil and have necessities of life, so that they may have full opportunities of growth. We believe that if any Government deprives a people of these rights and oppresses them, the people have a further right to alter it or to abolish it. The British Government in India has not only deprived the Indian people of their freedom but has based itself on the exploitation of the masses and has ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually. We believe, therefore, that India must severe the British connections and attain, 'Purna Swaraj' or complete independence". The Congress Working Committee proclaimed, "we hold it a crime against man and God to submit any longer to a rule that has caused disaster to our country".[142] At different places of Orissa, the Independence pledge was taken in the midst of great enthusiasm. The Utkal Pradesh Congress Committee received reports of Independence Day celebration from 54 places.[143]

The meetings at Cuttack, Bhubaneswar, Balasore, Puri, Sambalpur and Berhampur witnessed unprecedented enthusiasm of the people. The Government took disciplinary action against leading Congress men like Acharya Harihar Das, Pandit Lingaraj Mishra, Krupasindhu Hota, Ananta Mishra, Murari Tripathy and others and convicted them.[144] Therefore the report of the Government that the Independence Day fell rather flat is not correct.[145] The congress members from different legislatures also resigned. Godavarish Misra, Lingaraj Mishra, Narayan Birabar Samanta and Nanda Kishore Das

resigned from the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council. Pandit Nilakantha gave up his seat in the Central Legislature and Biswanath Das withdrew himself from the Madras Legislative Council.[147] Though Nilakantha and Godavarish got themselves relected later, disciplinary action was taken against them for violating the direction of All India Congress Committee.[148]

The Civil Disobedience Movement on account of the fact that it sought to alleviate the sufferings of the common man caused by heavy taxation on an essential commodity like salt, appeared to possess the potentiality of drawing the people to it. Gandhi said, as air or water, given by nature is essentially necessary, salt is necessary for life.[149] He considered salt tax to be the most iniquitous of all from poor man's stand point.[150] The economy of Orissa which dwindled a great deal already suffered a further set back with the salt monopoly of the British, for coastal Orissa had always depended on the salt business. It was thus expected that the agitation would find favour in this land without any barrier.

Hare Krushna Mahtab had discussed the prospect of a salt campaign with Gandhi during his visit to Orissa in December 1927. This is corroborated by the confidential report of the Government that, 'under the leadership of notorious Hare Krushna Mahtab, an attempt is being made to start civil disobedience and illicit manufacture of salt in Balasore and Puri districts respectively.[151] Utkal Pradesh Congress Committee in its meeting at Balasore on 16 March 1930 resolved to launch Salt Satyagraha in Orissa,[152] Inchuri on the sea coast, 12 miles from Balasore was selected to be the place from where the salt campaign was to begin under the leadership of Hare Krushna

Mahatab and Surendranath Das. A batch of twentyone 'Satyagrahis' was selected as the first group of volunteers to proceed from Cuttack to Inchuri on foot. Gopabandhu Choudhury was selected as the leader of the Satyagrahis[153] on the day of the march, the entire city of Cuttack was on the street to felicitate them,[154] The British Government however took quick action and put almost all the important leaders behind the bars by mid 1930, which considerably weakened the agitation for sometime. But towards late 1930, the movement again gathered momentum and continued unabated, not withstanding the police repression, undaunted, even the women folk under the leadership of Sarala Devi, Kishorimani Devi, Malti Devi and Rama Devi organised civil disobedience at Balasore, Cuttack and Puri.[155] Thus, the Salt Satyagraha at Inchudi stirred the people of Orissa as never before. The movement, though, did not catch up immediately, yet, gradually the people of Orissa appeared to lend their support mainly due to the propaganda work carried on by the congress leaders and the movement started gaining appreciable momentum and continued till March 1931.[156] But the Gandhi-Irwin Pact of March 1931 brought the movement to rather a sudden end.

When, the congress leaders were preoccupied with the national movement, the moderates were concentrating on the creation of a Separate Province of Orissa. They expressed themselves strongly against the course of action adopted by the Congress. A periodical entitled 'Satya Samachara', edited by Braja Sundar Das and Gopal Praharaj from Cuttack supported such views.

> "For sometime" it wrote, 'Orissa remained a tail of Bengal, thereafter an appendage of Bihar and now

in the flood of nationality it is going to float the tail end of India'.

To them Orissa appeared on the verge of a precipice. They felt that unless the Oriyas united and achieved their goal before India gained freedom, there could be other intermediary rulers in place of the present ones. At the Utkal Provincial Congress Committee meeting held at Balasore in March 1931, Congress men under the Presidentship of Nilakantha Das passed a resolution urging the All India Congress Committee to expedite the formation of Separate Orissa Province and regretted the disregard, apathy and negligence shown by the Indian National Congress to solve the oriya problem.[157] Lingaraj Mishra, the editor of 'the Samaj' called upon his congress colleagues to attach greater importance to the interests of Orissa than national interest.[158] The wind was now blowing in favour of mobilising the Orissa Congress towards the creation of a Separate Province.[159] They now strove to retrieve their position in Orissa. However, Mahtab differed from this general consensus. He felt that the creation of a Separate Orissa Province would automatically follow 'Swaraj' like 'day following the dawn'.[160]

The congress leaders decided to join hands with the moderates in an effort to work out a combined methodology so that the oriyas could consolidate their claim and achieve their goal.[161] A significant opportunity came handy, when the Karachi Session of Indian National Congress on March 31, 1931 resolved to have the following session at Puri in Orissa.[162] Gandhi also promised to support the demand for the creation of Orissa Province in the Second Round Table Conference.[163] Gandhi returned to India on 28 December 1934 from London

without achieving any success. When the Civil Disobedience was resumed from January 1932, the Government followed a policy of repression and declared the Congress as unlawful Organisation.[164] Therefore, Orissa could not host the 46th Session of Indian National Congress.

The moderates had announced the formation of a United Orissa Conference which was open to the Congress workers as well.[165] Both the camps realised now that precious little had been achieved so far relating to oriya amalgamation issue, due to the desultory efforts on the part of the leaders. The United Orissa Conference held its meeting on 2 and 31 May 1931. A Committee was constituted with Nilakantha Das as the President, Gopabandhu Choudhury as the Vice-President, Laxminarayan Patnaik and Sashi Bhusan Rath as the Secretaries.[166] Various Sub-Committees were also formed to look into various aspects of amalgamation of the Oriya speaking areas and the boundaries of Orissa in case it were made a Separate Province. The meeting criticised the 1931 census in the outlying Oriya speaking tracts as supplying inaccurate figures. This united Orissa Conference came to be known as the All Parties Conference subsequently.[167]

Hare Krushna Mahtab, who was gaining prominence in the Congress fold, tried to check the influence of the moderates and strengthen the Congress Organisation. On his suggestion, a Committee was formed to work for the Separate Province of Orissa.[168] Nilakantha Das was choosen as the head of this committee and was requested by the Congress members to plead the case of oriya speaking people before the proposed boundary committee.[169] Nilakantha Das appealed the people of

Orissa belonging to all shades of opinion to unite in solving the boundary problem.[170]

However, some congress members like Mahatab and Gopabandhu Choudhury deviated subsequently from the above resolution. They kept the national movement in the forefront by sidetracking the Provincial issue.

The report of the Simon commission led to the summoning of the Round Table conference in London in 1930. On the basis of Orissa sub-committee report, Orissa question was discussed in the very first conference. The Rajah of Parlakhimedi camped at London and circulated a pamphlet entitled 'the oriyas, their Need, and Reason for a Separate Province.[171] His telegram from London on 17 January 1931 ran : "Happy to inform, my presentation of oriya problem received unanimous support whole Conference today.[172] Raja of Parlakhimedi impressed in the conference the unenviable position of the oriya speaking people, their ungrudging loyality to the British Government, and their legitimate claim to a distinct political and administrative identity. Since the Simon commission was favourable to the idea and reports from the local Government (Bihar and Orissa) were also favourable, the Government admitted the claim of the Oriya for a Separate Province and asked for the expeditious appointment of a Boundary commission to satisfy the very natural desire of the Oriya speaking people.

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    This is very much evident from his reactions as expressed by Miss S.Das :... in 1902, my late father and late S.B.Banergee had a great discussion about the difficult problem of Orissa, in the Grand Hotel, Calcutta .... My father wanted that the Indian National Congress should take up the question of Orissa, that the oriya speaking tracts should be amalgamated as a Province. But S.N.Banergee was not in favour of taking up Provincial question in Congress and so my father parted from the National Congress".

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THE BOUNDARY COMMISSION

The Government of India announced in their Resolution NO.F.12-VI-31 of 18 September 1931, the formation of a Boundary Commission "to examine and report upon the administrative, financial and other consequences of setting up a separate administration". The Commission was also to recommend regarding the readjustment of boundaries in the event of separation.[1] Samuel O'Donnell was appointed the Chairman of the Commission and other members included were T.R.Phookun, H.M.Mehta, SriKrushna Chandra Gajapati, Sachidananda Sinha and C.V.S.Narasingh Raju.[2] Sir Samuel O' Donnell was formerly the Secretary, Home, Government of India. H.M.Mehta was the member of the Council of States from Bombay and T.R.Phookun was the member of Central Legislative Assembly representing Assam. Sri Krushna Chandra Gajapati, the Raja of Parlakhimedi, Sachidananda Sinha and Narasimha Raju were the associated members to take part in the proceedings of the Commission as the representatives of Oriya, Bihari and Telugu Communities respectively. B.C.Mukherjee, I.C.S.,was appointed as the Secretary to the Commission. This Commission also came to be known as the O'Donnell Committee or the Orissa Committee.

The timing of the Boundary Commission undoubtedly put a lot of strain on the Congress workers, who were committed to the national party. Morally, they could not

go against their own people. They blamed the British Government for their double loyalities. Mahtab wrote :

"... there was no need for the Government to formulate the Commission so hastily. It appear strange that when such a lot of struggle is going on regarding the freedom of the country, the British Government is so keen on seeing a separate Orissa Province.... Amalgamation and separation are certainly necessary but not before the country gains freedom.[3]

Nevertheless, the leaders of Orissa belonging to various parties and factions resolved to work in concert for the unification of Oriya-speaking tracts. The students started campaigning throughout Orissa and observed November 15 as the All Orissa Separate Province Day.[4] Even the Congress members like Godavaris Mishra and Jadumani Mangraj could not refrain from the propaganda work in the outlying tracts. A Finance Committee was formed under Bichitrananda Das to explore and place the financial liability of a separate administration. Another Committee was set up under Niranjan Patnaik to collect news and statistical information in the outlying tracts.The Committee under Lingraj Panigrahi undertook the task of propaganda work to mobilise public opinion in favour of the issue: The Census statistics of certain areas like Midnapore (in Bengal), Singhbhum (in Bihar and Orissa), Phuljhar (in Central Province) and Ganjam (in Madras) were challenged as erroneous.[5] Lingraj Panigrahi faced stiff opposition at Midnapore, where Birendra Kumar Sasmal, Jnanendra Choudhury, Devendra Bhattacharya and M.N.Bose were organising public opinion and manipulating the census in order to oppose the transfer of the territory. There was a public meeting at Sambalpur on 24 July 1931 to activate propaganda work in the outlying Oriya tracts of Central Province. It is interesting to note that even

Nilamani Senapati, Deputy Commissioner of Sambalpur delivered an inspiring speech asking the Oriya community to rise to the occasion and work unitedly for the amalgamation of Phuljhar, Padampur, Khariar etc.[7]

The Committee met at Patna on 7 November 1931 and invited memorandums by the Public bodies. Memorandums were submitted to it by the Utkal Union Committee, the Greater Utkal League and many other Oriya Associations of Singhbhum, Central Provinces, Sambalpur / Midnapore / Ganjam and Vizagapatam Agency.[8] The Committee also recorded oral evidences at Patna. It visited Gopalpur on sea on 15 December 1931 and Parlakimedi on 16 December 1931 to take oral evidence.[9] Between 23 November 1931 and 14 January 1932, the Commission visited Jameshedpur Chaibasa, Sambalpur, Raipur, Midanpore, Waltair and Cuttack for on the spot investigation and examined in all 410 witnesses representing various shades of public opinion.[10] The Utkal Union Committee and other local Oriya Associations demanded that the following areas be included in the new Orissa Province : (1) the Orissa Division, (2) Angul, (3) the Sub-divis ions of contai and the *thanas* of Kharagpur, Narayangarh, Danton, Mohanpur and Keshiari of the Sudder Sub-division of the district of Midnapore, (4) the thanas of Simlipal, Raipur and Khatra of the district of Bankura, (5) the district of Singhbhum, (6) the *thanas* of Barbhum, Manbazar and Chandil of the Manbhum district, (7) the district of Ranchi, (8) the Zamindaris of Khariar, Phuljhar and Bindra Nawagarh in the Mahasamand Tahasil of the Raipur district, (9) the Zamindaris of Chandrapur, Padampur, Malkhurdah and a group of nine villages called the Jogini villages in the Bilashpur district, (10) the district of Ganjam (including the agency tracts) except the taluk of Chicacole and its Sub-taluk of Narasanpetta, (11) Vizagapatam Agency including Gadam taluk.[11]

The Committee also received memorandums against the formation of Orissa Province. Memorandums from Midnapore. Anti-Partition Committee. Proprietors of Dhalbhum estate. Jamshedpur Bengali Association. Mankis of Kolhan, Government of the Central Provinces with a note on Padampur Tracts. Ganjam Defence League and C.A.Hinderson, Government of Madras.[12]

The Committee examined the claims. and toeing the line of the Simon Commission, took into consideration the language. race, the geographical position, economic interest, administrative convenience and above all the wishes of the people, to settle boundary lines.[13] To examine the census statistics on population. mother tongue. subsidiary language, and caste of the people of the above areas, the commission requisitioned all the materials from the census superintendents of concerned Provinces.[14] This was done apparently with a view to preventing of any possible manipulation of figures, about which there were public complaints. The census superintendents and the Boundary Commission were alive to the 'stupid and unintelligent propaganda in the bilingual or multi-lingual tracts.[15] This mostly happened in the northern borders of the Madras Presidency and necessiated appointment of special officers to superintend enumeration and obstruction.[16]

In the meantime, there was a turning point in the history of the Congress movement in Orissa.The Orissa Congress had decided to send Nilakantha Das to meet the Boundary Commission during its visit to Singhbhum. But by then, the relation between the Congress and the British had got very much strained. Due to the policy of repression. many leaders and volunteers found themselves behind the bars.[17] The Press was kept under strict censorship. The Samaj and Prajatantra suspended their

publications for sometime. All Congress offices and ashrams were locked by the Government. In 1932, the congress was declared illegal by the Government. So, Nilakantha Das was instructed to boycott the Commission at Singhbhum.[18] This was an unfortunate situation for the Congress leaders in Orissa. Because, they were unable to meet the Commission to press their demand due to their loyality to the National party. Moreover, they lost the opportunity to impress upon the national leaders their grievances, for, Congress was declared illegal and its session scheduled to be held at Puri in Orissa was cancelled.[19]

However, the Commission after careful examination of the relevant materials, finalised its report in April 1932.It recommended that the proposed Orissa Province should include Orissa Division, Angul, Padampur and Khariar estate and the greater part of Ganjam district and of the Vizagapatam Agency tracts. Regarding the Oriya speaking areas in Bengal, the Committee accepted Midnapore as a part of Orissa on linguistic, racial and historical grounds. But it did not recommend its inclusion in Orissa, since majority of the people did not wish to be amalgamated to Orissa. It did not also recommend to include Bankura in Orissa on linguistic and racial grounds.[20] In the case of Singhbhum, the Committee concluded that linguistically and ethnologically the Oriyas were a small minority of the population and their claim was opposed by all section of people. Besides, the separation of Singhbhum from the rest of Chotanagpur was not in the interests of the tribal people to which majority of the inhabitants belonged. The lines of communication also favoured Singhbhum's retention in Chotanagpur.[21] The Committee also studied the claims of Oriyas over Manbhum, Ranchi, Chotanagpur and came to the

conclusion that race, language, economic interests and geographical position favoured their attachment to Bihar.[22] In the Central Provinces barring Khariar and Padampur, where the Oriyas constituted the majority, the Committee did not recommend the inclusion of Phuljhar and other Oriya speaking areas.[23] In the Ganjam district, though the Committee recommended the inclusion of the plains and the Agency areas, it excluded the areas like Icchapore, Manjusa, Budarsingh, Jalantar, Tekkali and Tarla. But, these areas were recommended to be transferred to Orissa by the Philip-Duff Committee. In the case of Parlakimedi, the Chairman of the Committee disagreed with his two colleagues and recommended for its attachment to the Madras Presidency.[24] For inclusion into Orissa, the Committee recommended the Vizagapatam Agency tracts except the Gudam Taluk, the Hill Madgole estate, the Veravilli area, the Srungaravarapukot tracts, the Palkonda tract, a portion of the Salur Taluk and the South eastern portion of Gunpur, as the Telugus formed the majority.[25] Thus, the Committee recommended transfer to Orissa an area of approximately 33,000Square miles and a population of about 8,277,000 persons.[26] Singhbhum, Midnapore, some areas in the Central Provinces and in Ganjam remained outside the proposed boundary line of the Commission. The Committee stated that the loss of territories would not cause any loss to the respective Governments; rather by the creation of the new Province, both the Governments of Bihar and Madras would be financially benefitted.[27]

The Commission recommended a less expensive administration. The new Province should have no High Court, nor a University; it would have no long term prisoners; it should share certain training establishments with Bihar on payment of a specific amount of money

for their maintenance.[28] It should not have a self-contained cadre of All India Services. Even, then the total deficit in the first year of separation[29] was estimated of Rupees 35.21 lakhs, and in fifteen years the deficit would swell to Rupees 40.93 lakhs. There was no scope for making up this staggering amount of deficit by new taxation. The crisis could be solved only by the allocation of new resources of revenue or a sub-vention from the Central Government, or by a combination of both would bridge the financial gap.[30]

The O'Donnell Committee Report was very much disappointing to the Oriyas, as it did not concede all the outlying areas they had claimed. They organised meetings in protest and led deputations to the Government for justice.[31] On 2 July 1932, a meeting of the Utkal Union Conference was convened to discuss the report of the Commission.[32] It was also decided in this meeting that it would meet in a general session in Berhampur on August 21, where Laxmidhar Mohanty consented to preside.[33] In this session, the Report of the Boundary Commission was criticised as it excluded some areas from the boundaries of the proposed Province of Orissa. The Utkal Union Conference made its demands clear by pressing for the inclusion of the areas like Icchapore, Manjusa, Buddarsingh, Jalantar and Tarala of Ganjam; Singhbhum of Chotanagpur; Phuljhar and other Oriya speaking tracts of Raipur district, and areas from Midnapore. Resolutions were passed regretting the exclusion of Midnapore, Singhbhum and Parlakimedi. The Utkal Union Conference also putforth suggestions through which the new Province of Orissa could become financially self-sufficient.

Similar meetings were also held in different parts of Orissa, expressing their resentment on the Report. On 8 August 1932, Oriyas of Calcutta even held a meeting in

Chittaranjan Avenue and condemned the O'Donnell Committee Report.[34] Krishna Chandra Acharya of Singhbhum in a statement demanded the. inclusion of Singhbhum in Orissa.[35] The Rajah of Parlakimedi, in *a* note to the Government of Madras, opposed the O'Donnell Committee Report.[36] The local Congress organisation held a meeting at Cuttack on 12 June 1932 and criticised the report as most injurious to the cause of Orissa. A Province without a High Court and a University and with a heavy deficit could neither satisfy the intelligentsia nor the common man, who were already unable to bear the existing burden of taxation. The leaders decided that a deputation should wait upon the Viceroy to press the necessity of the early creation of the proposed Province.[37] The deputation consisting of 19 persons met the Viceroy at Simla under the leadership of the Rajah of Parlakimedi and explained the injustice done to the Oriyas in the O'Donnell Committee Report. Meanwhile, a Telugu deputation had also met the Viceroy to oppose the amalgamation of Parlakimedi and Berhampur with Orissa. But, it was not opposed to the creation of a separate Orissa Province itself.[38] The Viceroy assured the delegation of Oriyas that he would send his proposal to the Home Government soon, and that the new Province would be created within three years.[39] Further, he said that financial deficit would not stand a bar.[40]

In fact, the financial deficit was a subter fuge calculated against the creation of the Orissa Province. It was a problem common to all the proposed new Provinces.Bhubananand Das, in a statement, pointed out that the financial deficit would be made up by granting liberal aid from the centre and remission in the interests.[41] Biswanath Das reiterated his already published financial calculation and asserted that the Ganjam district would

have *a* surplus of Rupees four lakhs.[42] To a question of Sir Charles Oman, Sir Fredrick Thomson, Treasurer of the House-hold, replied that the additional overhead charges attributable to the institution of Governor's Province were estimated at about 18 lakhs, 10 1/2 lakhs and 2 1/2 lakhs of rupees in the case of Orissa, Sind and the North-Western Frontier Province respectively.[43] The Secretary of State for India, in his statement in the Round Table Conference, gave the opinion that "It is essential to provide that the centre should contribute towards Provincial deficits especially in regard to Sind and Orissa, in case of separation.[44]

Laxmidhar Mohanty moved a Resolution in the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council on 2 September 1932, urging the Government of India to constitute immediately a separate Orissa Province.[45] Regarding financial objection, he pointed out that "there should be some coordination between the Orissa Feudatory States and the Orissa Government in the field of communication and other matters of such collateral importance as those pertaining to trade and commerce." The Committee had not taken any notice whatsoever of the possible revenue accruing from these sources.[46] Participating in the debate Babu Harihar Das advanced new arguments and said that the proposed Orissa Province would be a surplus Province instead of being a deficit one.[47] Loknath Mishra advocated that the financial barrier could be tided over by solvency through retrenchment, expansion of revenue and allocation of new sources of revenue.[48]

The case of Orissa was strengthened further when the Commissioner of the Orissa Division approvingly quoted the remarks of Nilamani Senapati, Deputy Commissioner of Sambalpur.

> If a separate Province for the Oriyas is not formed now, it will lead to insurmountable administrative difficulties in future; there will be a constant friction with the majority in the legislative council of Bihar or any other Province to which Orissa may be attached.[49]

He also emphasised the inclusion of Parlakimedi as 'entirely reasonable'. He conveyed the strong feeling of disappointment over the non-inclusion of Singhbhum and felt that the decision regarding Phuljhar was 'arbitrary'.[50]

In the Madras Legislative Council Orissa boundary question was debated. The Rajah of Bobbili in an amendment, demanded the inclusion of all the Oriya speaking areas south of the rivers of Rushikulya and Ghodahada in Madras. Oriyas regretted such decision and demanded an assessment of popular opinion in the areas concerned.[51] The Government of Madras acquiesced in the O'Donnell Committee's recommendation for the transfer of the Ganjam Agency and the northern part of Ganjam to Orissa. But it was not prepared to cede Parlakimedi, as it was ethnically and linguistically a Telugu majority area. The Government of Madras even apprehended a Telugu agitation, if Parlakimedi is transferred. However, they made it clear that in deference to the desire of the Raja, Parlakimedi was separated from Madras, the *Maliahs* (Parlakimedi *Maliahs* and Jalantra Maliah) should also go, as they were economically interdependent.[52] In case of Jeypore, they did not agree to its transfer to Orissa as the Raja Ram Chandra Dev IV (1920-1931). was opposed to the transfer and had submitted a memorandum to the Government of India. The recommendations of O'Donnell Committee was strongly opposed by the Telugus of Berhampur and other areas of Ganjam district. They

held a meeting at Berhampur on 6 May 1932 under the Presidentship of Bhupati Raju Siteram Raju and decided to send a deputation to Delhi and Madras to represent their claims.[53] They even raised subscription to meet the expenditure of Varah giri Jogeya, a Telugu Pleader, who was to go to England to represent their grievances. He met at London, the Under Secretary of State for India and pleaded against the transfer of Berhampur and other Taluks to Orissa.[54] Even a Telugu Professor named Dr.Sesagiri Rao suggested to form a separate Kalinga Province consisting of the districts of Vizagapatam and Ganjam and the Telugu and Oriya speaking areas of the Central Provinces.[55] It seems that the Telugus apprehended that in the event of inclusion of only Berhampur without the merger of Parlakimedi and other areas of Ganjam district in Orissa, they would be in minority and hence would suffer.[56]

The Government of Central Provinces while accepting the O'Donnell Committee and recommendation for the inclusion of Padampur into Orissa, objected to that of Khariar on the ground of historical association and geographical contiguity.[57]

At the sametime the Bengalis made attempts to include some Oriya speaking areas in Bengal. It was found that when the Oriyas of Singhbhum, Monbhum, Saraikella, Kharaswan and Jharkhand areas of the Chhotanagpur Division had been trying to merge these areas with Orissa, the Bengalis too made a parallel claims to add these very areas to Bengal.[58] They held a meeting at Jamshedpur on 1 July 1931 with Nagendranath Rakhit in chair and resolved to submit this matter to the Viceroy.[59] Since the O'Donnell Committee did not suggest the inclusion of Midnapore, Bankura or any portion of Bengal in the new Province, the Government of Bengal had no comments to offer on its

report. But they took strong exception to the creation of a deficit Province, because, that deficit would be made up at the expense of other Provinces, including Bengal.[60]

The Government of Bihar and Orissa did not dispute the merit of the case, being true to their convictions and earlier commitments. But they apprehended that the Province would be condemned to "a state of complete and precarious stagnation" due to financial implications. They indirectly persuaded the Government of India to agree to a reallocation of new sources, or a subvention from the central Government or for a combination of both the methods.

The Government of India could neither agree to the suggested methods of O' Donnelll Committee, nor recommend the creation of a separate province ignoring the question of finance. After the careful examination of the financial issue, the Government of India could reduce the net deficit by about Rupees 7 lakhs and allowing an adverse balance of Rupees 28.5 lakhs per year to persist. It recommended that the vizsagpatam Agency be retained in Madras, as the Agency tract is inhabited by aboniginals and was a sort of 'white elephant' which only the financially stronger Madras Government could manage.[61] The Government of India suggested the retention of Parlakimedi estate with its Maliahs in Madras, in view of thier mutual economic dependence. It shared the apprehension of Madras Government relating to racial tension and law and order problem, if the estate were transferred to Orissa in deference to the wishes of its Rajah and in violation of the wishes of the majority Telugu population.

In order to draw a convenient boundary line in the southern extreme of the proposed province, the Government of India virtually accepted the Rishikulya-Godahado river

and the Mohini Hills as the line of demarcation. Thus, the Government of India proposed a smaller Province that what was recommended by the O'Donnell committee. Because, it would "facilitate a solution of the financial difficulty and reduce administrative inconvenience".[62]

On December 24, 1932, Sir Samuel Hoare, the Secretary of State for India announced in London that Orissa would be constituted into a separate Province. The Oriya nationalists assembled at Cuttack to discuss the announcement on 12 February 1993. This meeting presided over by Bhubanananda Das came to be called as a 'Leaders Conference'.[63] The Conference expressed its appreciation of Government for the announcement, but suggested that the new boundary of Orissa must embrae all the Oriya speaking tracts. This Conference, which was dominated by the moderates. came under severe criticism for styling themselves as 'leader'. This is evident from the absentee in the conference persons like Nilakantha Das, Gopabandhu Choudhury, and Godavarish Mishra.[64] The organisers of 'Leaders Conference' subsequently constituted a 'Separate Orissa Province Committee' consisting of the Chiefs of Parlakimedi, Khallikote, Dharakote, Chikiti, Parikud and persons like Laxmidhar Mohanty, Bichitrananda Das and Srikrishna Mohapatra.[65] It may be observed that the list included those persons who were strong supporters of Utkal Union Conference. It looked as though the Utkal Union Conference was again coming to the forefront.[66]

Consequent upon the discussion at the Third Round Table Conference (17 November to 24 December 1932), the British Government was set for the reform of the Indian constitution, the draft proposals of which were embodied in the white paper published on 17 March 1933. The long awaited white paper contained the proposals for

constitutional reforms in India and the boundaries of the proposed Orissa Province.[67] It included the announcement, constitution Orissa into a Separate Province and also indicated the boundaries of the said Province. The white paper also notified the Separation of Sindh as an independent Province. The white paper declared that the new Orissa province would be headed by a Governor and would consist of the following areas.[68]

(a) the districts of Cuttack, Puri, Balasore, Angul and Sambalpur of the Orissa Division.

(b) From the Central provinces, the estates of Khariar and Padampur, and 7 villages of Kuhakunda, Bodimal, Panchapudia, Brahmpur, Panchapuragia, Jogini and Thakurpalli.

(c) From the Madras Presidency, Ganjam Agency tracts excluding Parlakimedi and Jalantara Maliahs.

(d) Ghumsur, Aska, Sorada, Kodala, Chatrapur taluks of Ganjam district, Surangi, Barada, Chikiti of Ichapuram taluk northern part of Berhampur taluk (north of the line joining Sonepur and Purusottampur via Surla Salt factory).

The white paper proposed that the then Governor's Provinces should retain the boundaries which had existed at that time, with such alterations as the establishment of Sindh and Orissa might involve.[69] But the proposal regarding the boudary of Orissa as contained in the Government of India notification was far from being satisfactory. It excluded the Vizagapatam Agency and the Parlakimedi Estates and the Jalantar Maliahs in the Ganjam Agency from the proposed Orissa Province.[70] Yet, Samuel Hoare, the Secretary of state, spoke at a reception

given to him by the Rajah of Khallikote that, he had satisfied ten millons of Oriyas by the creation of the new Province of Orissa.[71]

The publication of the white paper perpetuated the controversy and diappointment among the Oriyas as the proposed province excluded Vizagapatam Agency and Parlakimedi.[72] It set off a strong reaction in Orissa for it had excluded the estates of Jeypore and Parlakimedi from the proposed Province.[73] In may 1933, the Utkal Union Conference met at Jeypore to discuss the unkind step taken by the Government in excluding the above two regions.[74] The Raja of Jeypore, Vikram Dev IV, very much regretted the decision of the Government, Laxminarayan Sahu, Harihar Misra, Gorachand Samantrai, Shyam Sunder Gantayat and Madhusudan Panigrahi provided leadership to the unhappy Oriya community of Jeypore. On 22 March 1933, a meeting was held in Keonjhar Palace at Cuttack and it was resolved that a deputation should wait on the Governor of Bihar and Orissa on 2 Aprill 1933 during Governor's proposed visit to Orissa and place before him the problems of Orissa's proposed boundary. It was further resolved to send some Oriya leaders to London to apprise the Parliamentary Joint Committee.[75] On 24 March 1933, a meeting at the 'Utkal Ashram' was held at Berhampur and vehemently criticised the 'White Paper'. Demands were also made for inclusion of an Oriya member in the joint Committee. On19 March 1933, a meeting at Singhbhum passed the resolution that, " the decision of His Majesty's Government on Orissa boundary issue is a direct onslaught on the Oriya nation".[77] Telegrams were sent to the Rajah of Kanika, member of the Executive Council and Bhubanananda Das, member of the Legislative assembly, to resign from their respective membership.[78] Bhubanananda Das sent a telegram to the Governor of Bihar and Orissa as follows : "Orissa boundaries arbitrarily

fixed unacceptable to any Oriya. Pray represent our deep sense of disappointment and resentment and fight for us with the India office and the Joint Committee". On25 March 1933, Sashibhusan Rath led an Oriya deputation to the Collector of Ganjam. Oriya Association of Kharagpur, the 'Oriya Samaj' of Navarangpur also organised meeting to protest against the injustice done to the Oriya people. Protest meetings were held at Singidi, Nimgaom, Mathala, Khurigaom and Bhapore for the inclusion of Parlakimedi in the proposed Orissa Province. Jagganath Choudhury, Secretary of the 'Ganjam Oriya Youth Association' called on the students and youth of the Ganjam district to join the 'Ganjam Central Youth Association' in a large number for a vigorous agitation. On 19 March 1934, 'Boundary Protest Day' was observed everywhere in the Oriya speaking areas and the 'White Paper' was condemned.[80]

The Congress men of Orissa - particularly Radhanath Rath and Jadumani Mangaraj were critical on 'White Paper' and called for protest, demonstration and even agitation against the arbitrary award of the Government.[81] The Congress of Orissa had been well out of the scene since long. Indeed, the Provincial organisation of the Congress was conspicuous by its distance from the current that was flowing in the state in the wake of the Government announcement. Moreover, during 1933 and 1934, Orissa was affected by severe floods [82] and many of the Congress leaders were busy in relief work. The Congress members were also pre-occupied with the campaign for the election of Governor's Council.[83] Thus, the activities of the Congressmen on the boundary issue were viewed with suspicion. On 21 March 1933, Niranjan Patnaik accused the Orissa Congress for creating obstruction for the amalgamation. He called upon the Congressmen to join the amalgamation movement for a complete Orissa

Province.[84] Even, the explanation of Nilakantha Das about the sincerity of Congress men towards amalgamation [85] did not completely removed the cloud of mistrust.

On 22 March 1933, Rajendra Narayan Bhanja Deo, the Rajah of Kanika moved a motion in the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council under Rule 24-A. " That the White Paper containing proposals for the Indian constitutional Reforms be taken into consideration".[86] To this motion Rai Bahadur Loknath Mishra moved an amendment that at the end of the motion the following be added; " and that having considered it, this council is of opinion that the boundary demarcated for the new Province is highly disappointing in as much as it does not include even the areas unanimously recommended by the orissa Boundary Committee and also excludes the Parlakimedi estate proposed by the majority of the said Committee.[87] They urged upon the Government, to reconsider the question of boundaries before the Reform proposals were forwarded to the Joint Parliamentary Committee.[88] Even T.R. Phookun M.L.C., a member of O'Donnell Committee in a statement to the Press said "I am much disappointed and equally surprised at the tentative decision arrived at by the Secretary of State, now published in the White Paper against the feelings of the Orissa Committee regarding the boundary of the would be Province. Further, he said that, 'I hope the Oriyas will seek the opportunity' of expresing strong sense of disappointment at the next meeting of the Joint Committee and obtain redress of their legitimate grievances.[89] Even, Sachchidananda Sinha, in submitting a memorandum to the Joint Parliamentary Committee on 15 June 1933 said :

> The Parliamentary Committee should accept the boundaries suggested in the report by the members of the Orissa Bounday Committee, either unanimously or by a majority. The attempt to go

behind the recommendations - as made in the White Paper - is bound to be a legitimate cause of dissatisfaction to all Oriyas. They are not likely to remain satisfied with a truncated Province.[90]

The White Paper was referred to the Joint Parliamentary Committee. Before the Joint Parliamentary Committee made its recommendations on the boundary issue. the Secretary of State appointed an Informal Committee to report on the boundary question. This committee consisted of eight members, five from the Joint Commitee and three from India. The Secretary of State was assisted by Lord Zetland, Lord Derby, Lord Lothian, Major C.R. Attlee, R.A. Butler, Sir Pheroze Sethna, Sir N.N. Sircar and zafrullah Khan received the Oriya and Telugu deputations on 3 and 10 July 1933 respectively and heard their arguments.[91] Besides, the Commitee also decided to consult O'Donnell, the Chairman of the Orissa Boundary Committee.[92] The views expressed by the Government of India and the Madras Government were taken into consideration. The main points which were discussed related to the inclusion of Berhampur, Parlakimedi, Jeypore estate and the possibility of having summer Headquarter of the Government at Mahendragiri.

On 22 November 1934, the Joint Select Commitee under the Chairmanship of the Marques of Linlithgow, made their announcement public. The announcement said: 'A Separate Province of Orissa would, however, be perhaps the most homogeneous Province in the whole of British India, both racially and linguistically'.[93] In giving their decision on the white paper proposal on the boundaries of Orissa, it said, that certain areas should be added to the proposed new Province in addition to those mentioned in the White Paper. The areas were - (a) portion of Jeypore estate which was recommended by the Boundary

Commission of 1932, (b) the Parlakimedi and Jalantara Maliahs, and (c) a small portion of the Parlakimedi estate (including the Parlakimedi town). It also awarded Berhampur to Orissa "which would form a suitable Head-quarters for its south-eastern area".[94] The question of adjusting the boundary line for a summer capital of the new Province at Mahendragiri was ruled out. On financial question, the Committee categorically stated that, the deficit must be made good by federal subvention, since the Government of Bihar and Orissa were already in great financial difficulty due to the recent earthquake.[95] Thus, the Joint Parliamentary Committee recommended that 'a new Province of Orissa be constituted'.

The Government of India, as had the intention to make Orissa a distinct Province, if treated Orissa as a Governor's Province in the proposals of constitutional Reform. Therefore, it felt that preliminary administrative preparation was a necessary condition in the establishment of a new Province particularly when the territories would be taken from the three existing Provinces. The Government of India considered it advantageous to early examine the administrative problems incidental to the creation of the new Province. Therefore, it decided to set up a committee of enquiry to conduct investigation on the basis of the boundaries proposed in the 'White Paper'.[96]Sir James Siffon, the Governor of Bihar and Orissa had suggested to the Viceroy Lord Willingdon that :

> It was essential to provide Orissa with a trained and experienced administrator, who would organise the departments, settle the duties and responsibilities of various officers and establish the routine administration on sound lines by adopting the system of Bihar and Orissa or any other Government which might suit Orissa most.[97]

He had even suggested the appointment of a Deputy Governor or Lieutenant Governor under Section 52 A or 53 of the Government of India Act, 1919. But it was unacceptable to the Government of India on constitutional ground, as there was no provision for a Lieutenant Governor's Province under the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme. But, the Government of India took a different line of action to forestall any administrative crisis.

A Committee was appointed to enquire into the administrative problems incidental to the creation of Orissa as a Separate Province. It was set up under the Chairmanship of Austin Hubbock with eight members [98].

The Report was finally published on 20 December 1933, which contained several recommendations. The Committee selected Cuttack as the Provincial capital and Puri, the Summer Headquarters. Appointment of a Chief Secretary, Revenue Commissioner, a Legal Remembrance and other officers to help the Chief Secretary was prescribed. It recommended a Forest Department with its Headquarters at Angul and a Police Department with an Inspector General at its head. Provision was made for a single head for the combined departments of Civil Hospital, Prisons and Public health. Recommendations were made for a Director of. Education and a Chief Engineer. It suggested that Orissa should have a separate High Court of its own, having one chief justice and 3Puisne Judges. For the time being, the Committee did not approve of a separate University, primarily on financial consideration. They proposed that Orissa may share the services of the Reformatory School, Mental Assylum, Medical College, Engineering College, Veterinary College and Police Training School, then existing in Bihar.[99] For All India Services, the Committee recommended a joint

cadre with Bihar, but all the Provincial Services were to be self contained and not dependent upon any neighbouring Province.[100]

The recommendations of the Joint Parliamentary Committee were accepted by the House of Commons and it was decided to introduce Bill on the general lines of the Report.[101] Accordingly, the Government of India Bill was prepared and the provision for the creation of a separate Orissa Province and the boundaries recommended by the Joint Parliamentary Committee for the said Province were enlisted in the clause 46 and 271 respectively in the Bill. The steps taken in 1912 during the creation of the Province of Bihar and Orissa served them as a model.

It is interesting to note the discussion on clause 46 (Governor's Provinces) of Government of India Bill in the Parliamentary Committee of the House of Commons. An amendment was moved by Colonel Wedgusood who said that, the Government were setting up a Province in Orissa to counter balance the North Western Frontier Province on communal basis.[102] He referred to the description of Orissa as having being the scene of the 'Jungle Book' written by Rudyard Kipling and alluded to various tribes. He suggested that these people who were mostly aboriginal tribes, required direct administration because of their backwardness. He felt that the new Province of Orissa would be better governed by Englishmen in the interest of a number of uncivilised tribes.[103] G.Nicholson warned the Government that, "If you eccede to the demand of the Oriyas for a Separate Province, I can not see what on earth there is to prevent you from acceding to the demand of the Telugus, or the Kanarese, or the Mahrathas, or any other of the many races of India who may think that they would do better if they had Separate Provinces of their own with the consequent increase in the loaves and fishes.

He said that, it contained the germs of many 'Home Rule' movements and of many 'Irelands' all over India.By agreeing to provide the machinery of the new Province, we are striking at the whole structure of India as it exists to day and at Federal India as we envisage it in the future.[104] However, he believed in the popular demand in Orissa for a separate Province to preserve the national culture and language.

Sir Reginald Craddock took up the cause of opposition and jeered that it was ridiculous to turn an area which had been run by a Commissioner into a Governor's Province. Craddock was critical over the financial estimates of the new Province in which there was no provision for a University or a High Court. It was no logic in having a separate Province, if the Oriyas would have to depend on other Provinces for their academic and judiciary needs. [105] He criticised the new Province saying :

> For administrative reasons this scheme is sheer folly, for financial reasons it is extravagant, and for political reasons it is mostly make belief.[106]

R.A.Butler, the Under Secretary of States for India, did his best to answer some of the points raised by the mover of the amendment and those who had intervened in the discussion. In reply to Wedgwood's reference to the 'Jungle Book', he stated that the description of the tribes by kipling refers to Jodhapur on the border side of the Province and not in Orissa. With regard to the protest of Oriya population, he said that, there was no such information with the Government on the other hand, the people of Orissa had age long desire to live in a separate unit of India.

It was Major Attlee, who spoke on the subject with more authority and his arguments had a large bearing on the question of the future administration of Orissa.

Participating in the debate, he refused to accept Wedgwood's interpretations of the geography, the population, the finance and the opinions of the inhabitants of Orissa. Attlee argued that, "the Oriya speaking people were scattered in different provinces; neither they had any common interest with those areas nor had they similarity with the people thereof. They were made to live there as small minority and hence had no chance for self Government and self expression. He admitted that the number of the tribal people was very large, but they were vivisected into sections and allotted to different Provinces. As these tribal people speak Oriya language, they should come together to Orissa under a special administration.[107] He invited Wedgwood to welcome the creation of the new Province. As regards the boundaries of the new Province, Butler replied to Morgan Jones that, the boundaries decided by the Joint Committee for the proposed new Province of Orissa would not be changed.[108]

According to Section 289 (1-b) of the Government of India Act, 1935, "Orissa and such other areas in the Province of Bihar and Orissa as may be specified in the order of His Majesty shall be separated from that Province, and such areas as may be specified in the said order shall be separated from the Presidency of Madras and the Central Provinces respectively, and Orissa and the other areas so separated shall together form a Governor's Province to be known as the Province of Orissa.[109] Steps were taken to fix the date of commencement of the new Provinces of Orissa and Sin and enact transitory provisions to be in force till the commencement of Part III of the Act. Accordingly the Draft order in Council Constituting Orissa was laid before Parliament on 21 January 1936 under the title "the Government of India (Constitution of Orissa) Order 1936 for affirmative Resolution. The British authorities published the Draft Order regarding the new

constitution of the Provinces of Orissa and Sind, which was released both in England and India.[110] R.A.Butler, the Under Secretary of State for India, presented to the House of Commons the draft order for granting an interim Government to Sind and Orissa.[111] Government thought it prudent to bring these two Provinces into existence before the establishment of Provincial autonomy, because these Provinces should find themselves as administrative units before they took on responsible Government.

So an interim period was provided to enable a unit to make arrangements for proper administration before it assumed a complete autonomous form of administration. The Government had suggested that the inaugural date should be 1 April 1936 and the type of constitution for the interim period should be simple.[112]

As regards the form of administration in the interim period, the Secretary of State for India, said that, there should be a transitional Government whose primary function would be to set up the machinery of the new local administration. The traditional Government should consist of a Governor who would be assisted by two ministers, whose advice he would be free to accept or reject. An advisory Council would also be set up with members being nominated by the Governor. The Governments of Madras, Bihar and Orissa were asked to be in readiness to meet the changing situation.[113]

The new Province of Orissa comprised an area of 32,695 square miles with a population of 8,043,681 drawn from three Provinces.[114] it was divided into 6 districts. They are Cuttack, Puri, Balasore, Sambalpur, Ganjam and Koraput. The Angul and Khandmal tracts under the Deputy Commissioner of Cuttack and Ganjam respectively were ultimately absorbed in the districts of Cuttack and

Ganjam. The three Provinces affected by the creation of the new Province prepared the budget (1936-37) for their respective portions, which were later coordinated by the Government of Bihar and Orissa and submitted to the Government of India for approval.[116] Officers of Civil and Police Services were drawn from the three Provinces in order to provide the necessary man power for the superior administrative cadre.[117] There was a period of brisk activities in the separation of records, readjustment of territories and coordination of various laws in force in different parts of the new Province. The Government of India undertook to meet the cost of the buildings for accommodating the new Government offices, and until then the Governor was temporarily accommodated at Puri while his offices functioned at Cuttack.

For the first time the Province of Orissa with Cuttack as its capital came into being as one of the eleven Governor's Provinces in India from 1 April 1936. The Home Government appointed Sir John Austin Hubback, to the office of the Governor of Orissa. He was sworn in as the Governor of Orissa by Sir Courtney Terrel, the Chief Justice of Patna High Court. The Governor convened a meeting on 1 April 1936 in the Ravenshaw College Hall at Cuttack for the inaugural ceremony. There was an impressive gathering with the members of the Oriya Peoples' Association, the Oriya Landholders' Association, the Orissa Chamber of Commerce, the Orissa Mohammedan Association and the Domiciled Bengalis' Association of Orissa. The Governor read out the message of His Majesty Edward VIII on this occasion which said :

> It gives me great pleasure as one of the earliest acts of my reign and first outcome of the Government of India Act of last year to approve an order in Council creating Orissa as a Separate Province. The long

> cherished and natural desire of the Oriya people to be reunited after centuries of dependence upon other administration is thus fulfilled. It is my hope and expectation that the new Province will draw inspiration from the past and will prove worthy of the historic tradition of the holy land of Orissa. To all my subjects in Orissa, I send my cordial wishes for their happiness and prosperity.[118]

The Viceroy sent a message of Greetings which was read out by the Governor. It said :

> For myself I fully realise that you, the people of Orissa, have striven long and earnestly for the union under one Government of all the Oriyas and for the creation of a Separate Province of Orissa the ancient home of a Hindu religion and culture, a worthy unit in the great Federation of India.[119]

The Oriya members who attended for the last time the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council on 28 March 1936, were given farewell by the Chairman. The Earewfll address stated that "the Oriya members have rendered very valuable services to the Province as a whole. Our relation with them has been always cordial and intimate ... I assure them on behalf of Hon'ble members of this Council from Bihar that they have our good wishes in the future happiness and prosperity of their new Province.[120] Thus, the Oriya movement which was launched in 1903 by Utkal Union Conference on the issue of amalgamation of the Oriya speaking tracts was merged in the demand for the formation of a separate Orissa Province and at last on 1 April 1936, the long cherished dream of the Oriyas became a reality.[121] Of course, Madhusudan Das; the man who was literally the voice of the Oriya people for nearly half a century was no more to witness this historic incident due

to his death on 4 February 1934. When he entered the scene in Orissa, it was a land strewn with only despair and ignominy. After fifty years, the situation was retrieved to a tangible degree with the announcement of a Separate Province. This success owed a great deal to him.

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	17,400	2,552,874
Central Provinces	1,589	184,665
Bihar and Orissa	13,706	5,806,142
	32,695	8,043,681

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LEADERSGHIP PROFILE

Chandra Sekhar Behera :

Chandra Sekhar Behera was born on 20 May 1873 of a humble parentage of Padmanabha and Pratima. He was adopted by Bhagirathi Behera, who took all care for the moral and intellectual upliftment of the child. Chandra Sekhar passed the Entrance Examination in 1891 from Zilla School of Sambalpur. He served as a teacher in the Zilla School and became very popular with the students for his honesty and sincerity. He was adominished by the Headmaster for his close association with the students. Hence, Chandra Sekhar resigned his job and joined in Nagpur Secretariate as a Clerk. There, he completed his law course to become the first Oriya Law Graduate of Sambalpur.

Chandra Sekhar took active interest in the language agitation of Sambalpur, when the Chief Commissioner of Central Provinces passed a Resolution to substitute Hindi in place of Oriya as the court language of Sambalpur from 1 January 1896.[1] Chandra Sekhar personally met the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner and apprised him about the strong resentment of the people of Sambalpur to the Language Policy of the Government.[2] Sir Andrew Fraser, the Chief Commissioner, was convinced by the census report 1901 and consequently recommended for the restoration of Oriya language.

Chandra Sekhar Behera joined Sambalpur Bar as a Pleader on 23 September,1901. He was responsible for the organisation of Bar Association of Sambalpur and also a Club for the Lawyers near the court. He played a major role in the amalgamation of Sambalpur tract with Orissa Division.He was an active member of the Utkal Union Conference and presided over its Puri Session in 1919. He inspired the members to transform their parochial attitude into All Indian Spirit of Nationalism. Chandra Sekhar Behera along with Dasarathi Mishra and Dharanidhar Mishra was responsible to adopt a resolution in the Chakradharpur Session of Utkal Union Conference to join the national mainstream of Indian politics by eschewing regional programme.[4] He joined the Non-Cooperation Movement in 1921 and made Congress programme popular among the people of Orissa.[5] Chandra Sekhar was responsible for the opening of a National School in a private house at Jharuapara with honorary teachers for teaching the students, who boycotted the classes in response to the call of Gandhiji.[6] Chandra Sekhar as the President of Sambalpur District Committee in 1922 popularised the *charkha* movement and abolition of untouchability.[7] Gandhiji stayed with Chandra Sekhar Behera during his visit to Sambalpur on 23 December 1928 ,and was pleased with the activities of the Congress District Committee .

Chandra Sekhar was the first Chairman of Sambalpur Municipality, He successfully induced the members of the Municipality to adopt the Bihar Orissa Municipal Act of 1922. During his Chairmanship, he established a number of schools, renovated tanks, built temporary dams for drinking water and made permanent arrangements for cremation and shelter for lepers. He believed in honesty, humility and hardwork. He had respect for all sects and creeds. Chandra Sekhar breathed his last on 23 December

1936. He made for himself a comfortable niche in the fabric of history and would be ever remembered as a staunch nationalist and a great social worker.

Gopabandhu Das :

Gopabandhu Das is famous as a patriot, a nationalist, a freedom fighter, a social reformer and a friend of the poor. Being influenced and inspired by Madhu Sudan Das and Gandhiji, not only had he played the most important role in the freedom movement of Orissa but also had rendered valuable social services to the people, for which just like Gandhi he deserves to be called the pioneer of social welfare programme in modern Orissa.[8]

Gopabandhu was the son of Daitari Das of Suando in the Puri district and born on 9 October 1877. Educated at Puri, Cuttack and Calcutta, he joined the Bar of Mayurbhanj State. But the boiling spirit of nationalism and patriotism in him, attracted towards the Oriya movement of Utkal Union Sammilani and liberation of India from colonial imperialism through Indian National Congress. Though there is no denying the fact that Madhu Sudan Das was the pioneer in spreading the Congress ideas in Orissa,Yet, it is Gopabandhu who made an all out endeavour to give a new life to the congress organisation in Orissa.[9]

As a student in Calcutta, he had been inspired by the nationalistic fervour of the Swadeshi Movement and became a strongest exponent of it. He was very much impressed and inspired by the resolution of national education passed in the Calcutta Congress of 1906.[10] In order to implement this programme, he established an educational institution on the lines of the Deccan Education Society, known as the Satyabadi Vana Vidyalaya at Sakhigopal, in the district of Puri. This institution grew

up as an ideal and renowned national institution of the country. A group of exceptionally brilliant and devoted teachers such as Harihar Das, Nilakantha Das, Krupasindhu Mishra, Lingaraj Mishra and Godavarish Mishra worked in this school and produced rich crop of literature which marked the beginning of a new era in Oriya literature.[11] In that school students were given training and education to became useful members of the society and dedicate themselves for national and social service.[12] Once Madhu Sudan Das said, "There is no doubt that the progress of the nation depended to a large extent on the teachers and their pupils. Gopabandhu, his colleagues of the Satyabadi school and their students are determined to build the future men of this country.[13]

The advent of Gopabandhu Das in Orissa politics brought a radical change in the course of the Oriya Movement. As an ultra-nationalist and being pro-congress, he disapproved the policy of moderation of Madhu Sudan Das. He played an important role in the merger of Oriya nationalism with Indian nationalism. He did not distinguish between Oriya nationalism and Indian Nationalism.[7] He wanted to give a fresh fillip to the Separate Oriya Movement by turning it into one activist Movement with a programme for direct action. He started a systematic campaign to proagate congress ideas in Orissa and advocated that the Utkal Union Conference should become a part of the Indian National Congress. In his monthly, 'Satyabadi', he criticised the conference that " it met once in a year behind closed doors and indulged in fiery speech making and paper resolutions, but it did not take active parts in politics".[15] He propagated that "the Indian National Movement was forging ahead and its reactions are felt in Orissa .... If Orissa did not join the mainstream of the Indian National Congress, it may be, she may lose her identity altogether".[16] This propaganda

led to a rift in the conference and thereafter Madhu Sudan Das parted his way along with his moderate followers.

Gopabandhu Das became a member of the Legislative Council of Bihar and Orissa from 1917 to 20 and joined the Non-Cooperation Movement. He started a weekly Oriya paper 'The Samaj' in 1919 in order to popularise the congress ideas. He became the apostle of the congress movement in Orissa. In a lucid description of this period Lal Mohan Pattnaik wrote, "Orissa which for years stood aside the orbit of the congress could not continue as such after what took place in India. She caught the spirit of nationalism; rather the spirit caught her. [17] He established Provincial Congress Committee at Puri in 1920 and started spreading Gandhian principles. The institutions known as Swaraj Ashram and Alaka Ashram were set up for training the congress volunteers and workers. The students of Cuttack formed under his guidance Swaraj Sevak Sangha to enroll the volunteers for the non-cooperation movement. The visit of Gandhiji to Orissa on March 1921 and Rajgaopalachari and Motilal Nehru on August 1921 stirred the imagination of the people. The efforts of the Orissa congress under the leadership of Gopabandhu in furthering the cause of the Oriyas in the outlying tracts and non-cooperation movement was very much appreciated and was reported in newspapers.

The great passion of Gopabandhu's life which animated his thoughts and deeds was the suffering humanity. Being inspired by his aunt Kamala Devi, he had developed the strong determination to fight against all forms of misfortune, caused either by human cruelity or by natural calamity. He had formed the 'Kartabya Bodhini Samiti' or the 'Duty Enkindling Society' where regular discussions on social, economical political

problems were being discussed and every member was allowed to express his own views and opinions without any fear. He had organised a volunteer corps to help the distressed in the flood striken areas. Efforts were made to open spinning and weaving centres in the flood affected areas to provide work to the people.[18] Through the All Orissa Flood Conference of 1927, Gopabandhu Das put pressure on the Government of Bihar and Orissa to appoint the Flood Expert Committee suggesting measures for the permanent eradication of flood. In one of his speeches in the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council he said :

> If any human being in an unknown corner of this province within the great empire of His Majesty dies for want of food, *I* think that his blood will be upon me and upon all those who are directly or indirectly responsible for conducting the administration.[19]

Gopabandhu Das was associated with *a* number of social institutions engaged in humanitarian activities. He was the Secretary of the Leper Asylum and succeeded in making it a stable institution. He established night schools at calcutta to educate the Oriya labourers who were being illtreated by the rich Bengalis and organised there various assoiciations and societies to create a sense of self reliance and self confidence among them. He joined the servants of the people society in 1926, which was founded by Lala Lajpat Rai and succeeded in establishing a branch of this society at cuttack. He was very much shocked to see the social system based on the principles of inequaility, injustice and casteism and founded an 'Ashram' for the untouchables known as 'Kadua Ashram'. Students irrespective of their caste, creed and religion were admitted to Satyabadi school.[20] Therefore, Dr. Mayadhar Mansingh has rightly remarked about Gopabandhu, a blue blooded Brahamin, who had given up his caste prejudice

long before Gandhiji's Harijan Movement was heard of.[21] Like Madhu sudan Das, Gopabandhu was a great champion of female education.[22] He was touched by the plight of the widows in Hindu society. He persuaded and encouraged many youngmen to marry young windows. He too tried to rehabilitate many young windows by founding Jagannath widow's Ashram at Puri in 1921.[23] This Ashram trained the widows in useful crafts and made them live a dignified life.

Gopabandhu Das dominated the Socio-politicial life of Orissa for a long three decades. He was so much dedicated to the service of the suffering humanity that often he was indifferent to his own-self. Gandhiji advised his political disciple to take care of health with the words, "Do not wear away your constitution uselessly going about but preserve it by observing simple rules of health."[24] He caught fever and breathed his last on 17 June 1928 at the age of 51.[25] Thus, Gopabandhu, the architect of the Congress Movement in Orissa, passed away, leaving an immediate vaccum in Orissa's political leadership. Gandhiji said in a message, "He was one of the noblest among the sons of Orissa, the land of sorrows and tears." Lala Lajpat Rai observed that " Gopabandhu Das was the uncrowned king of Orissa". In the words of Subhas Chandra Bose, "Gopabandhu Das was the father of the National Movement in Orissa, who have installed in the heart of the young Oriyas a spirit of courage and sacrifice and fearlessness. Recollecting his association with Gopabandhu, C.F.Andrews wrote, "Gopabandhu's whole heart was in the villages and with the village people. He lived like them, he dressed like them; in every respect, he kept his life absolutely untouched by luxury, like their lives. He had his own faith in God, at once simple and profound."[26] Making a summary of his contributions for the country, Ganhiji wrote that, "the country is poorer for the death

of Gopabandhu Das. Though he is not in our midst in the flesh, he is in our midst in spirit. Let that noble spirit guide the workers of Orissa, let his death result in a larger dedication to service, greater effort, greater self effacement and greater unity among the scattered workers who are too few for the national requirements".[27] Dr. S.C.Das observed that "Gopabandhu was born a man but he died as an institution. He had a short span of 51 years but during this period he shone in everything that he had undertaken as a part of his multiglorious activities."[28]

Hare Krushna Mahtab :

Hare Krushna Mahtab was born on 21 November 1899 in a zamidar family of Agarpada in the district of Balasore. His father Krushna Charan Das was the son-in-law of Jagannath Mahtab. The name of his mother was Tohfa Biwi. He was adopted by his grand parents Jagannath Mahtab and Dhanni Biwi from the child birth. Hare Krushna completed his primary education from the village school and passed matriculation from Bhadrak High School. [29] He was married to Subhadra Devi of Asureswar village, in the district of Cuttack at a young age. After matriculation, Hare Krushna joined Ravenshaw College, Cuttack and passed Intermediate Science in Second Division. During this period he, along with his associates started publishing two handwritten journals in Oriya and English language called "Malaya" and "Dustbin" as monthly and weekly respectively. He was also contributing articles to the Oriya Daily 'Utkal Dipika' regularly and criticised the oppression of Brithsh officials.[30]

Hare Krushna Mahtab, though was very much attracted by the personality of Madhu Sudan Das and participated in the meetings of Utkal Union Conference, yet, he could not appreciate the moderate attitude of Madhu Sudan Das and his followers. He was a revolutionary at heart and joined "Bharati Mandira", a revolutionary organisation, established in [illegible] at Bakhrabad of Cuttack. He attended the Special Session of Indian

National Congress at Calcutta with Mohan C.R.D. Naidu on behalf of 'Bharati Mandira' and was impressed by the touching speeches of eminent leaders like C.R. Das, Motilal Nehru, Lala Lajpat Rai, M.M. Malavya and M.K. Gandhi.[31] Here, he came in contact with Gopabandhu Das and expressed his desire to participate in the Non-Cooperation Movement. He was expelled from Ravenshaw College because of his pro-revolutionary activities and could not appear in the final of B.A. examination. During the visit of Gandhiji to Orissa, he helped the congress organisation in organising mass meetings at Bhadrak. As the head of the District Congress Committee of Balasore, he organised meetings, relief for the flood victims and criticised the Government for not taking necessary measures to solve the flood problem in Orissa.[33] when Lahore Congress decided to celebrate 26 January 1930 as the Independence Day all over the country, Mahatab organised mass meetings in different parts of the country to carryout the decision.[34] During the Civil Disobedience movement, Mahtab took the lead in organising volunteers for the violation of Salt Act in the Balasore coast. Twelve students were sent to Inchudi and Sri jang to rouse the patriotic sentiment of the Villagers.[35] As the villagers showed examplary tenacity and courage throughout the movement by the instigation of Hare Krushna Mahtab, he was imprisoned on 17 April 1930 and sent to Hazaribag Jail. Subsequently, he was transferred to Patna Camp Jail as 'C" class prisioner.

Mahtab's role in the oriya movement during the first phase was not that conspicious. As an ardent supporter of Congress activities, rather he opposed Madhu Sudan Das and other members of Utkal Union Conference. But after that he spread Congress ideas and programmes. During this period, he also published a weekly litho print journal known as 'Swaraj Samachar'. He launched campaigns against the oppressions, corruputian and autocratic behaviour of the police and Zamindars. He propagated the 'Charkha' movement and even prevented the entry of foreign clothes into the district of Balasore by employing

congress volunteers in all the railway stations of Balasore district. He was punished with a fine of Rs. 25/- or 15 days imprisonment and he preferred imprisonment. This was the beginning of his prison life in the struggle for freedom. He was once again sentenced to one year imprisonment on 13 july 1922 for agitational activities and lodged in Bhagalpur Jail.[36]

After his release from Bhagalpur Central Jail, Hare Krushna Mahtab took charge of Pradesh Congress Committee of Orissa. But, he resigned from the post due to certain differences with other Congress leaders. Then he was elected to Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council in November 1926 from Balasore. There, he demanded suspension of Non-Cooperation Movement. He took keen interest in the agitation for the creation of Separate Province. He organised the Utkal Union Conference at Calcutta with the cooperation of the Oriya speaking inhabitants of the area. He was one amongst the stalwarts in the creation of Orissa Province on 1 April 1936.

The rising fame of Mahtab attracted the attention of Subhas Chandra Bose, who inconsultation with Sardar Patel, took him to the Central Executive Committee of National Congress. He attended the Congress Working Committee meeting of Bardoli and proceeded to attend the Congress Session at Wardha. Soon after the adoption of Quit India Resolution, he was arrested alongwith Pandit Govind Ballav Panth and sent to Ahmadnagar Fort. Mahtab spent the long three years of prison life at Ahmadnagar in reading and writing. He devoted himself to writing of poems and novels with patriotic fervour. It is here that he completed his two volumes of 'History of Orissa'.

In the election to Provincial Assembly in 1945, the congress securred 47 seats in the House of Sixty and Mahtab was unanimously selected as the leader of the House. He became the Chief Minister of Orissa from 1946 to 1950 and again from 1957 to 1960. Mahtab inaugurated many social and economic changes

during his tenure of ministry. The Orissa removal of civil disabilities bill, Orissa opium smoking bill and Bihar and Orissa Excise bill were most conspicuous. He encouraged the teachers and the students by granting scholarships and grants. Similarly, certain agrarian and economic changes helped the peasants of rural Orissa to normalise their economic condition. Among these changes, the most important were : Madras land bill , Orissa agriculture income tax bill, Orissa entertainment tax bill and Orissa money-lenders amendment bill. He had his contribution to the industrial development of Orissa. The Mahanadi Valley Project and Machkund-Duduma project owe their origin and completion due to his untiring effort and initiative. Inspite of severe opposition from his own party members and the inhabitants of southern and western Orissa, he was able to complete the long cherished projects. Another significant achievement of Hare Krushna Mahtab was the location of Provincial Captial at Bhubaneswar. After the collapse of Jones Committee and Dain Committee's report, Mahtab passed the bill in Orissa Legislative Assembly for the construction of new capital[37] and got the central assistance. But it had a temporary setback due to his appointment as Central Minister for Commerce and Industries from 1950-1952 and the Governor of Bombay from 1955 to 1957 Naba Krushna Choudhury, the then Chief Minister of Orissa postponed the construction work at Bhubaneswar and tried to retain Cuttack as the capital of Orissa.[38] Soon after Mahtab's return to state politics in 1957, the work of construction was geared up once again and all Government offices were shifted from Cuttack to Bhubaneswar except the High Court.

The story of integration of Princely States with Orissa is fascinating and thrilling. Mahtab made a serious effort in this direction, prior to the transfer of power by the Britishers to India. Orissa is the first Province of India, where the princely states signed the instrument of accession with attainment of freedom. He was

determined to put to an end the oppressive and despotic rule of Garjat States. He highlighted the oppression of the feudatory Chiefs through books and newspapers. He exposed the oppression at Nilgiri through a book called 'Nilagiri Atyachara'. He published a daily newspaper entitled 'Prajatantra' which focussed on the miseries of the people in Princely States. Prajamandal Movement spear headed the agitation in almost all the states. Gandhij' directed Mahtab for the reconciliation between the rulers and the ruled. This led to the signing of a pact known as Hennessy-Mahtab pact between the Assistant Political Agent of Eastern Provinces, the rulers of feudatory states of Orissa and the representative of the people. When Mahtab headed the ministry in Orissa, he realised the administrative inconvenience of the province due to smallness in size, poor finances and the lack of communication system with the Garjats. Moreover, the Princely States had most of the mineral wealth, forests, upper reaches of the rivers and assured rainfall than the province of Orissa. Therefore, Hare Krushna Mahtab thought of amalgamating Twentysix Garjats with Orissa proper for its rapid economic progress. Incourse of time Sardar Ballavbhai Patel and Gandhiji actively helped Mahtab to fulfill his dream. *In* this connection a document was signed on 14 and 15 December 1947, in which 25 Princely States except Mayurbhanj, merged with Orissa. Mayurbhanj joined Orissa proper on 17 October 1948 and came under its administrative control from 1 January 1949.[59]

Hare Krushna Mahtab was a historian of repute and a prolific writer. Literature and juurnalism was his forte. He encouraged Oriya literature by organising 'Vishuba Milana' every year at Cuttack, where writers and poets got the forum to exhibit their literary talent. For the entertainment of children, he published two monthly

journals known as 'Jhankar' and 'Mana Pabana' from his 'Prajatantra' Press. Mahtab was a veteran freedom fighter, a successful administrator, a historian of repute, an eminent journalist, a patron of Oriya literature and culture and above all a shrewd politician to the end. He was popularly called *Utkal Keshari*, the Lion of Orissa. Such a greate personallity passed away on 2 January 1987.

Jagabandhu Singh :

He was born at Bhubanpur in the Puri district on 15 February 1876. After completing his education, he joined the Bar at Puri. Jagabandhu Singh evinced great interest in the social work and was very much influenced by the personality of Madhu Sudan Das. The deliberate annihilation of Oriya culture in the Oriya speaking tracts of Bengal, Central Province and Madras Presidency caused a great concern for him. He joined the Utkal Union Conference and fought for the amalgamation of Oriya speaking areas. As a great exponent of Oriya nationalism, he tried to project the identity of Orissa through literature and pamphlets. He wrote a book on the history of Orissa highlighting its ancient glory and heritage.

Jagabandhu Singh was a true nationalist and joined the Indian National Congress. Thereafter, he became a close associate of Gopabandhu Das and popularised the congress ideas and programmes. He became the Vice-Chairman of Puri district Board and engaged himself in a number of social and philanthropic activities. His rising popularity led him to enter the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council for two terms i.e. 1923-26 and 1929-30. Through fiery speeches on the floor of the House, Jagabandhu Singh exposed the real character of British imperialism and colonial exploitation. When there was a rift between the moderates and congressites, he had to preside over the Chakradharpur Session of Utkal Union Conference in

1920. This remarkable Session drove the moderates to the wing and established the dominance of congressites under the leadership of Gopabandhu Das and Jagabandhu Singh. He played a conspicuous role in the Quit India Movement and Civil Disobedience Movement. But, he never ceased the effort for the creation of a Separate Province of Orissa. He breathed his last in 1948.

Krushna Chandra Gajapati Narayan Deo :

Krushna Chandra Gajapati Narayan Deo was born on 26 April 1892.[40] He had his early education at home under the direct supervision of his father Goura Chandra Gajapati Deo and mother Vishnupriya Devi. The young boy had the privilege of being tutored by celebrated scholars like Appana, Syama Sunder Rajguru and W. Taylor. Krushna Chandra received his secondary education in the local high school at Parlakhemundi.[41] Then, he went to Madras to join the Newington Residential College, which was maintained for the education of the sons of the landed aristocrats of the Madras Presidency.[42] Here, Krushna Chandra devised the schemes for rural development and new facilities for his tenants.

Due to the premature death of his father, Krushna Chandra was forced to return to Parlakhemundi to take charge of the administration of his estate. He was coronated as the Raja in 1913 to the great delight of the people of his zamindary.[43] He married the daughter of Raja of Kharswan and thus was related to the Ruling House of the feudatory states in the Eastern States Agency. He was adumbrated with the title of 'Vira Sri Viradhibara Sri Sri Gajapati Sri Sri Khetrapati Sri Sri Krushna Chandra Gajapati Narayan Deo Meherbani-E-Dostam', which was used only at the time of royal ceremony.[44] The title 'Meherban-E-Dostam' was offered by king Mahammad of Golconda as a token of love and respect for him.

Krushna Chandra Gajapati was an enlightened and benevolent ruler. He was a great patron of education and culture. His devotion to higher education was evident from his protest against the decision of University Commission to abolish the College Section from the High School at Parlakhemundi. He made a generous gift of rupees five hundred in favour of Stayabadi school at Sakhigopal on the eve of his coronation ceremony. He also liberally donated to Utkal Sahitya Samaj of Cuttack, which was leading literary institution of Orissa.

Krushna Chandra was a great champion of Oriya Movement. He encouraged the institutions which were engaged in creating a sense of awakening among the Oriyas living in the outlying tracts of other Provinces. He was convinced that the people of Orissa can not prosper and flourish economically, politically and culturally as long as they do not have an united home land.[45] A vivisected Orissa was bound to degrade its culture and jeopardise its political and economic interest. He therefore, emphasised to need for the unification of the Oriya speaking tracts into one province, before the people of Orissa could think in terms of the broader perspective of Indian nationalism. He realised the necessity and significance of a newspaper that could forcefully project the demands of the people of Orissa before the authorities. He patronised the publication of *Asha* from Berhampur, which played a great role in establishing the emotional unity among the Oriyas.[46]

Krushna Chandra organised the tenth annual session of Utkal Union Conference at Parlakhemundi on 26 and 27 December 1914. The proceedings of this conference were historic and had exercised great impact on the unification movement of Oriya speaking tracts. Krushna Chandra suggested for the formation of a separate province for the Oriyas on linguistic basis, based on the principle

of formation of linguistic provinces, recommended in the Montague-Chelmsford Report.[47] This view was reflected in the Report of Philip-Duff Committee which said,

Our enquiry has shown that there is a genuine long-standing and deep seated desire on the part of the educated Oriya class of the Oriya speaking tracts of Madras for amalgamation of these tracts with Orissa under one administration.[48] It was the first enquiry at the government level for the creation of Provinces on linguistic basis. C.L. Philip pointed out that the Committee Report of 1924 was mostly guided by the views and wishes of the Maharaja, of Parlakhemundi, the leading Zamindar of Ganjam. Krushna Chandra represented the case of Orissa at the Round Table Conference, London 1930-31. To his utter surprise, he found that Orissa issue does not figure in the agenda of the conference. He sought permission of the British Prime-minister to raise the question of creating a separate Province for Oriya speaking people.[49] He made an emphatic speech in the Conference.

I appeal to you all, gentlemen, to appreciate the peculiar position of the Oriyas and their demand as recommended by several official bodies time after time. We want a province of our own on the basis of language and race to be ourselves, a homogeneous unit with feelings of contentment and peace...... without a Separate Province for the ten million of Oriyas, let me tell you, Sir, that all your labour at this Conference to develop Parliamentary institutions in Provinces with autonomous powers, will prove on the contrary, seriously injurious to the Oriyas.[50]

Krushna Chandra felt very much disappointed at the Publication of the White Paper of 17 March, 1933, as it excluded his own estate from the proposed Orissa Province. He prepared an exhaustive memorandum outlining the grounds on the basis of which he wanted the

integration of Parlakhemundi with Orissa Province. Ultimately, his dream came true, when the Joint Select Committee favoured its inclusion.

Krushna Chandra had a progressive outlook and a scientific bent of mind. He had abiding interest in agriculture. He was appointed as the member of Royal Agricultural Commission in 1927. Lord Linlithgow as the Chairman of this Commission, used to accept most of Krushna Chandra's suggestions.[51] He was responsible for the establishment of a Nutrition Research Centre at Coonoor.

Krushna Chandra Gajapati formed the Non-Congress ministry in orissa in 1937 and again during the World War II, under the arrangement of Provincial Autonomy. He could not free himself from his royal obsessions and inhibitions. He did not advocate for open defiance of Governor's discretionary powers, as his counterparts did in other states. His loyality to the British Government was no doubt in harmony with the purpose of furthering the cause of nascent Orissa, but, this resulted in dimunition of his image as a political leader. He died on 25 May 1974.

Laxminarayan Misra :

Laxminarayan Mishra was born at Sambalpur on 11 April 1904. He was one of the leading figures in the annals of the Freedom struggle of Sambalpur. Under his inspiring leadership, Sambalpur became the torch bearer of Non-Cooperation Movement. Laxminarayan Misra was a staunch revolutionary and used to proclaim - 'Revolution is my profession'.

He joined the non-cooperation movement in 1921 as a school student of Class x in Sambalpur Zilla School and appealed the students to boycott classess.[52] He called for a complete *Hartal* and organised meetings to explain the objectives of Non-Cooperation Movement. During

these days, Laxminarayan Misra preached to the people on spinning, prohibition, boycotting schools and colleges, joining the National School, dissociating from Law Courts and establishing Panchyat for amicable settlements of local disputes.

Laxminarayan Mira was noted for his fearlessness, self sacrifice and self-respect. It was he who organised the 'National week from 6 to 13 April 1922.[53] He was arrested several times and was imprisoned at Angul, Berhampur, Hazaribagh and Patna. He organised a meeting of the Harijans and imbued them with the constructive programme of Non-Cooperation Movement. Many Harijans like Sukharm Tanti, Kasturam Tanti and Konaram Tanti joined the struggle and fought for independence. He took up the programme of cleaning Harijan *Bustees*, recruting Harijan boys for the school, digging wells and providing various amenities to the Harijans. He laid the foundation stone of a 'Harijan Home' at the village of Panchapara under Jharsuguda Police Station.[54], He, further, started a night school for Harijans at Sambalpur.

Laxminarayan Misra was a crusader against the maladministration of the Chiefs in the Feudatory States. The people of Padampur and Khariar were organised to protest against *Bagari* or supply of *Rasad* to the officers.[55] The public adopted an attitude of non-cooperation with the Government officials and refrained from rendering any assistance to them. Ultimately, the Zamindari made and amicable settlement with the tenants. As a member of Orissa Legislative Assembly (1952-61) Laxminarayan Misra supported the move to abolish Zaminadir system. He was an enthusiastic worker of Bhoodan Movement.

Laxminarayan Misra was assassinated by an unknown assassin on 30 May 1961 in the train while he was travelling from Jharsuguda to Bhillai to attend the centenary of Rabindranath Tagore.

Laxminarayan Sahu :

Laxminarayan Sahu was born at Balasore on 3 October 1890. He had his education in the Ravenshaw College, Cuttack and Sibpur College of Engineering, Calcutta. He was a prolific writer and a member of the Servants of People Society. He edited *Star of Utkal* in English, *Sahakar* and *Sahayog Samachar* in Oriya. He enlightened the people about Oriya culture and richness of Oriya language through these papers.

Laxminarayan Sahu organised Utkal Union Movement in Jeypore and strongly advocated for the amalgamation of all Oriya speaking areas under one administrative Division. He was a member of the Constituent Assembly. He was elected to Orissa Legislative Assembly in 1946 and continued upto 1950, Because of his prolific writings and scholarly activities, he was appointed as the President of Orissa Sahitya Academy in 1958. He participated in the P.E.N. meeting at Bombay as a member. Laxminarayan Sahu was a noted social worker and philanthropist. He visited Burma and East Bengal to render social work. Laxminarayan Sahu died on 18 January 1963.

Madhu Sudan Das :

Madhu Sudan Das occupied a very prominent place in the social, political and economic scene of Orissa for fifty long years and the Oriya nationalist movement was to lean heavily on his personality for its shaping and fruition.[56] The emergence of Madhu Sudan Das was a lavish response of nature to the exacting requirements of Orissa.[57] He came as a messiah for the thousands of his country men who were rotting in abject poverty and humiliation and became the living symbol of that resurgence.

Madhu Sudan Das was born on 28 April 1846 at Satyabhamapur in the district of Cuttack. It is known from the family geneology that the ancestors of Madhu Sudan were 'Khandaits' who afterwards identified themselves as 'Karanas'. His father was Raghunath Das and his mother was Parvati Devi. He was very proud of the fact that his great grandmother had been a *satee*.[58]

I have a vivid recollection of the graphic narration of the event by my grandmother who used to describe the event in a language whose warmth prepared my impressionable heart to receive togehter with the effect of the event. A feeling grew upon me that sattee's blood was running in my arteries and veins and made me what I am and always gave me courage in troubles.[59]

An interesting account of early education of Madhu sudan Das[60] has been written by himself.

All the surroundings of my life were calculated to develop pride; I do not know whether to call it pride or vanity. My life was no exception to the general rule of human development; the environment of my life developed what is known as megalomania.[61]

He had his preliminary education with the village teacher, where he learnt to write on palmleaf with a stylus and painting figures on the walls.[62] His father then admitted him to a *Muktab* (Persian School) for upper primary course, where he learnt the Persian language. As a boy, he was very mischievous, but always noted for his determination, courage, wit and humour. Thereafter, he was admitted in the High School at Cuttack, where he did his school final with credit, Writing about his school days he records.

The insult and scorn which was my share in the daily life at school produced in me in the end a spirit of forgiveness coupled with a feeling of indifference as to what my Bengali comrades thought of me.[63]

After passing his Entrance Examination in 1864, at the age of 16, Madhu Sudan went over to Balasore as a third teacher in the District School, with a salary of Rs.30/- per month for a period of two years. He acquired the intimacy of Fakir Mohan Senapati and Radhanath Ray, two celebrated writers of Oriya literature during his stay at Balasore.[64] Fakir Mohan wrote of Madhu Sudan that, "who ever came in contact with young Madhu Sudan at this period of his life was struck with his intelligence and ambition".[65] In 1866, he went to Calcutta to study in a college owing to his great love of english education. There he graduated from the college of London Missionary Society situated at Bhawanipur. He was not smart looking and uptodate like the Bengali boys. Hence, he resolved to master the language and within a few months he could speak the language fluently and distinctly. Later on, he could deliver speeches in fine chaste Bengali, but he was never ashamed to own that he was an Oriya.[66] In those days, there was a debating society in Bethune College. High dignitaries used to come and preside over the debates. Madhu Sudan became the favourite of all, as he was a very good debator and eloquent extempore speaker. The Bengali boys who at first had nothing but contempt and ridicule for the young Oriya, soon learnt to respect him.[67] Attending a service conducted by Dr. Duff one Sunday, he was highly impressed with the last words of Jesus Christ on the cross, "Father forgive them, for they know not what they do" and for days, he thought over them and felt that there was something very high and noble in this religion. He, along with his close friend Ambika Charan Hazra, was converted into christianity in 1869.[68] Subsequently, he married a Bengali christian lady in 1973 who however died five years later without leaving any child.69 Madhu sudan Das later on adopted Ambika Hazra's daughter, Sailabala when her mother died. He worked as the Headmaster of the Calcutta

christian missionary society High School and earned the reputation of an ideal teacher. Sir Asutosh Mukherjee once said that, " He not only taught me English literature but alos inspired me to regard character and independence as two of the supreme virtues in man.[70] Shyam Prasad Mukherjee has recollected that, "whenever my father write to Das, he never wrote as "my dear Mr Das"- it was always "My dear Sir" to begin with and ending as "yours affectionately". To westerners it may mean insignificant, but to Indians this form indicates a spontaneous respect shown by a devoted pupil to his former preceptor".[71] In 1878, Madhu Sudan Das did his graduation in Law and started practicising in the Alipore Court of 24 Parganas. With the death of his wife, he was greately depressed and returned back to Cuttack 1881 to start legal practice.[72]

Madhu Sudan Das, soon became a leading advocate due to the assiduity and the earnestness with which he applied himself to the task. He always struck to his views and tenaciously adhered to them regardless of consequences.[73]As a Lawyer, he was noted for his legal acumen and masterely advocacy. The temple case brought him to the limelight. When Raja Dibyasing Deb was convicted of murder and was sentenced to transportation for life,[74] the Government intervened in the temple management and passed the Puri Temple Act of 1880.[75] It vested the control and endowment of the temple in a committee of management disregarding the right of the minor king and dowager queen.[76] The announcement was looked upon by the Oriyas as a humiliation to their ancient tradition. The queen mother made a personal request to Madhu Babu to fight her case.[77] After prolonged deliberations at Calcutta High court, it was decided to reinstate Raja Mukund Dev (minor king) in his authority over the temple and the local Government sought compromise with the queen mother.[78] The skilful and

sympathetic handling of the Puri Temple case by Madhu Sudan Das contributed to his dramatic success not only as a lawyer but as a leader too. His interest in preserving the glory of the highest symbol of the Oriyas and Hindus earned him enormous confidence of the people.[79] He was a lawyer of high idelas and principles. While advising the junior members of the Bar, he often instilled in their minds the necessity of keeping the dignity of their profession. He used to say " This profession is the brain power of public life and is the maker of the best and useful citizens. To be worthy and honourable member of the profession it should be our motto to be honest, sincere and industrious and above all independent".[80] He served as a part time Lecturer in Law at Ravenshaw College from 1833-1890 and became a legend in the legal profession.

Madhu Sudan Das was a great exponent of Oriya movement and made a herculian effort for the amalgamation of Oriya speaking areas. He had the authentic picture of the problem from his private tutor, Gouri Shankar Ray and got himself deeply involved in the socio-political life of Orissa. He joined 'Utkal Sabha' (Orissa Association) and drew the attention of the government by demanding the expansion of railways, development of the industrial training, medical and nursing training facilities, to prevent drought and famine. As the Vice-Chairman of the District Board of Cuttack,[81] he tried to set up schools in coastal areas and the feudatory states and provided physical training to the boys serving in Jail, so that they can be appointed as P.T. instructors in schools. He was a strong advocate of female education.[82] His ideas on social reforms were progressive.

Madhu Sudan Das was a mighty Indian nationalist first and everything else afterwards. He took active interest in the Indian National Congress when it was founded in

1885. He was the pioneer in spreading congress ideas in Orissa. In the second half of the 19th century, the problem that the enlightended Oriyas confronted was the amalgamation of Oriya speaking tracts under one administration. Madhu Sudan Das felt that the National Congress, being a convention of India could not take up for discussion, questions affecting any particular Province, unless such questions has assumed the proportion of a national problem".[83] Hence the need of a Provincial Conference.[84] He organised the National Union Conference which played a conspicuous role in the Oriya movement.

Madhu Sudan was choosen as a member of Bengal Legislative Council in 1896 and continued upto 1912. He became a member of Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council from 1912 to 1913. Learning and clear logic combined with undaunted powers of eloquence made him a very distinguished speaker.[85] He could make the audience spell bound by his extra-oridinary power of elocution and humour. It was next to impossible not to agree with him so persuasively and masterfully did he speak.[86] He was awarded C.I.E. inrecognition of his distinguished service and became a member of the Imperial Council from 1913-1916. He joined as a minister of Local Self Government of Bihar and Orissa in 1921 and continued upto 1923. It fell to his lot to pilot in the Reformed Legislative Council as minister, two important Bills, i.e., the Bihar and Orissa Municipal Bill and Bihar and Orissa Local Self Government Bill. Throughout the progress of these Bills, he showed utmost mastery over details. He had progressive views and was anxious to advance the cause of Local Self Government and make the local bodies as popular as practicable. But in his zeal for reform, he never lost sight of efficiency.[87] As minister, he preferred efficiency to economy. This was considerably noticeable during the Retrenchment Committee meetings and other

debates in the Council.[88] Although a minister, he never concealed his dislike for the system of dyarchy. On one occasion, he ended a speech in the Legislative Council, by quoting a Persian verse which said that no one would care to come under the shadow of an owl, even though the auspicious bird 'Humaan' were to become extinct. This reference to a minister under dyarchy as an owl was a standing joke for years.[89] Madhu Sudan Das resigned suddenly from the ministership not be reason of a vote of censure by the legislature, but because the Governor did not agree to his proposal that instead of drawing his salary as a minister, he should be allowed to maintain himself by practicising at the Bar. He always stood firm like rock, true to his principles and ideals and never compromised his position or prestige for a mass of pottage, whether as a social worker or a promoter of education and industrial expansion or a champion of political rights and privileges.

Madhu Sudan Das was also the most strident voice for the abolition of the entire system of Zamindari in Orissa as a whole. He thought it to be totally alien to the tradition of India. In a Memorandum submitted to Sir William Wedderburn, Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, he claimed that " as the hunter's claim was irrefutable in the game of the killed, so the right of the peasant was inalienable on the land he tilled and the crops he raised [90] when a draft tenancy bill, designed to secure the subjective i.e., a self -contained agrarian code for Orissa[91] was brought on the floor of Bengal Legislative Assembly in 1911, he vehemently attacked this proposed bill during the long proceedings. He characterised the Bill as " a combination of all that is oppressive in Bombay, Madras, Chotnagpur, Bengal and East Bengal.[92] He lamented that " Orissa has become such a land where the worst character of all parts of India find refuge.[93] In a letter to the English Daily "The Statesman", he brilliantly analysed the fiscal

and agrarian history of Bengal and Orissa and pointed out the inherent contradictions, which distinguished Orissa from Bengal proper.[94] He named this proposed Bill of 1911 (Orissa Tenancy Bill) as a validation bill giving legal sanction to an improper and illegal action. continued and in use so far. However, the Bill was passed in the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council in 1913, bringing untold suffering and further impoverishment for the masses of Oriya peasantry in its train.[95] In order to organise this united mass of helpless peasants, he formed an association, 'Praja Pratinidhi Sabha' in the year 1912 at Cuttack. Hundred and thousands of peasants and agricultural labourers enrolled themselves as members of this organisation.

Madhu babu's greatest contribution came in his economic analysis of British rule in India, British policy destroyed the life of trade and commerce in Orissa. It is at the cost of Orissa that a belt of industries developed on the banks of Hoogly. Orissa remained a "neglected and benigned Province".[96] once commenting on the concept of 'Swaraj', he said that, 'Swaraj means to masses the dawn of an era, when he would live more comfortably and earn higher wages. In a word, to him 'Swaraj' means an improved economic condition".[97] To Madhu Sudan, culture of land was agriculture and culture of hand was industry. He very much emphasised on the industrialisation of the country, as increased population can not be sustained on limited land. He had established Utkal Tannery near Cuttack Railway station in 1905. The introduction of plant juice for tanning the leather was a novel innovation in the field of leather industry. In the beginning, the company was an individual enterpise. In 1909, he converted it into a Joint Stock Company. This shows the genuine and sincere desire of the man to elevate the status of the masses through the process of industrialisation and remove the

curtain of poverty which always hang in this flood and famine affected Province. The introduction of the plant juice for tanning purpose, preparation of soles from buffalo skin, the crome process and colouring gave comfort and glaze to the products of the Tannery, Lavenge, the Commissioner of Orissa Division, I.G.Cummy, Mr Duke, the Chief Secretary to the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal and host of others have paid a glowing tribute to the effort of Madhu Sudan Das.[98] Gandhiji had remarked that,He wore himself out in teaching the youth of his country dignity of labour and gave practical proof of his teaching by establishing at great sacrifice a tannery at Cuttack.[99] Madhubabu always preferred reputation to economy. On one occasion some defects having been noticed by him in large quantities of tanned leather, he ordered for its destruction in his immediate presence. It was a matter of deep regret that the Utkal Tannery on which he spent so much and to which he was so much attached as a child of his creation could not prosper on account of lack of financial support.[101]

Madhu Sudan Das had initiated an organisation of indigenous industry, much before the Swadeshi Movement in Bengal. But it became a sick industry in Orissa, whereas Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical works of Calcutta started by Prafulla Chandra Ray was a flourishing institution.[102] His another significant move was the establishment of "Orissa Art Wares". The chief motive behind this project was the glorification of the artistic crafts of Orissa.Once Sir John Woodburn, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal expressed his surprise by observing the fine work in Orissa and expressed his indebtedness to the workers of "Orissa Art Wares".[103] Thus, Madhu Sudan Das was the pioneer of the neo-industrial movement and gave an impetus to the silver filigree work in Orissa. He contributed his lot in reviving the rapidly decaying

industry in gold and silver. To draw the world wide attention, Madhubabu had also made an exhibition of these artistic works in London on his tour abroad.[104] He spent qnite a fortune out of his own lean purse without least consideration for his self, solely for the resurrection of the lost glories of a decaying nationality.[105] He emphasised on the usefulness of cottage industry, the formation of Joint Stock Company and Co-operative industries as early as 1903.[106] Really, he lived much ahead of his time.But, people did not take up the spirit of industrial life and did not like to develop their particular national genius, rather they tried to seek jobs for making both ends meet.He struggled splendidly to rehabilitate them, but in vain.The life of Madhu Sudan reminds the words of a great biographer who said, 'lives of greatmen are like torches a light to others, but waste and destruction to themselves.[107] In our unfortunate country, those who have got ideas and enterprises are generally men of high culture and education. They labour under serious disadvantage when they have got to give a practical shape to their ideas and so often we have to witness tragedies. Whereas in England, William Hascott, Lever, Sir Thomas Lipton in fact all the founders of big business houses were innocent of University education.[108]

Madhu Sudan Das was a prolific writer and a keen journalist. 'The Star of Utkal', the triweekly newspapers of the late Khirod Chandra Roy Choudhury, derived contributions and editorials from him often. He edited "The Oriya for sometime. He could write brilliantly and there was a note of swave witticism when he was scathing in his remarks. He used to say that education and agitation were the two media through which a statesman should work.[109] The education of women was nearest to his heart

and any girl receiving higher education and striving to rise in life had his fullest support. It was a great pleasure for Madhu Sudan to entertain the orphans of the protestant European school as well as the convent at Christmas time. He educated Sailabala, his adopted daughter with a view to take up the work of female education in Orissa.[110] Sailabala was presented at their Majesties' court in London in 1907 as the daughter of Madhu Sudan Das, and was the first Indian lady to be presented in a 'sari' for which the court regulations had to be changed. Everything connected with Orissa had a place in his heart of hearts.

For fifty years, it was a one man's show and that one man never grudged to give his time, his labour and to spend his money like water for the upliftment of the people of Orissa. He had unalterable faith in providence which he knew; would never ultimately allow a just cause to suffer. In matters of faith, he was a Christian but not a 'churchian'.[111] As a benefactor of Harijan, Madhu Sudan has no peer in Orissa. He was a man of saintly character, a man of piety and a man of sterling work, rare patriotism and genuine independence. Indeed, in a sense, Madhu Sudan Das was never a successful man, if success is measured by the amount of worldly means and leisure secured. But, the high ideal he set up before his people and the impress he left on the Oriya public character will last for ever. His dugged independence, sustained spirit of sacrifice and as a pioneer industrialist, should ever remain as a beacon light to the people of Orissa. He was accepted by the Oriyas as their unchallenged leader and revered as the architect of modern Orissa. Madhu Sudan Das left for his heavenly abode on 4 February 1934. "Orissa's 'Sun' is set He had given light and life which lit up the darkest corners of the Province of Orissa".[112]

Niranjan Pattnaik :

Niranjan Pattnaik was one of the greatest exponent, of Oriya movement and a disciplined disciple of the congress ideology. He was born on 24 November 1896 at Rukha Kana near Polasara in Ganjam district. His father, Damodar Das was a Nazir in Munsif Court of Aska. Niranjan had his early education in local school and graduated-from Madras University in 1918. He did his M.A. and B.L. from Calcutta University.

From his childhood, Niranjan had a burning passion to serve the cause of the Oriyas in the outlying tracts, where they were the victims of the territorial vivisection of Orissa. His teachership in Parlakhimidi gave him the practical experience of the hardships faced by the Oriyas under Madras Presidency. This led him to write along with a colleague named Chakrapani Pradhan, the monumental work "The Oriya Movement".It was published in 1919 under the anonym Two Bachelor of Arts from. Aska by Hari Hara Panda, Secretary of Oriya Samaj. The publication of this book removed a long standing desideratum in the political literature of the country. The entire book was a cry for the amalgamation of Oriya speaking areas under one administrative division. It made the Oriyas conscious of the plight of their breathrens in the outlying tracts and the annihilation of their culture by the neighbouring states. It argued for the amalgamation of the Oriya-speaking areas and the creation of a Separate Province on the basis of language, race and culture. There is no doubt that under the leadership of Niranjan Pattnaik, Ganjam became the very heart of historic Orissa's national consciousness.

When Gandhiji launched Non-cooperation as the only remedy for Amritsar and Khilaphat wrongs, the people of Orissa took a firm pledge for the attainment of

Swaraj and adopted the policy of progressive non-violent Non-cooperation. Niranjan Pattnaik was entrusted with the responsibility of organising, regulating and supervising the congress activities in the Ganjam district by Utkal Pradesh Congress Committee. He moved from place to place along with a group of devoted workers and popularised the message of Gandhiji. The people attended the meetings in large numbers irrespective of caste, creed and religion and liberally donated money to Tilak Swaraj Fund. During Gandhiji's visit to Berhampur on March 1921, he was presented Rupees Ten Thousand on behalf of the Congress Committee under the leadership of Niranjan Pattnaik. His meeting with Gandhiji left a deep impression on him and he remained Gandhian throughout his life. The volunteers, who were getting training at Swaraj Ashram, Cuttack, were deeply influenced by the idealism and personality of Niranjan Pattnaik.

His popularity brought him to the forefront of the congress organisation in the state. In 1928, he attended the Congress Session at Calcutta and was shocked to see the indifference of Congress leaders to the cause of the Oriyas. Niranjan Pattnaik along with Rajkrushna Bose and Nilakantha Das desired to put forward a resolution concerning the Provincial issue, which was not allowed by Motilal Nehru, the President of the Congress. The delegates left the meeting in protest under the stewardship of Niranjan Pattnaik and organised a procession in the streets of Calcutta, expressing resentment against congress leadership.[113] However, they joined the meeting, when Motilal Nehru regretted for his behaviour. Thereafter, he put all his efforts for the attainment of twin goal i.e. attainment of Swaraj as well as the creation of Orissa as a Separate Province.

After the suspension of Non-cooperation movement, Niranjan aorganised Khadi movement in Ganjam district. Initially, this movement was not encouraging as the investment on spinning was costly. Even Gandhiji once expressed his dissatisfaction over the functioning of Khadi Board. He wrote, "Take the case of Gopabandhu Babu. He is as pure as gold but is hopelessly an unbusiness like men".[114] Niranjan was determined to take steps for the promotion of Khadar. He closed 29 centres and allowed the centres at Kodala, Bairani, and Polesara to operate. He asked all the Congress workers to wear Khadi dress, which was considered as the livery of freedom. He became the President of Khadi Board and worked sincerely for the promotion of Khadar. Latter on, his political adversaries brought the allegation against him for misappropriating the fund of Khadi Board.On enquiry it was found that he had taken interest free temporary advances from the fund. Hari Hara Das states in his autobiography that it was because of Niranjan's early success, some state leaders could not tolerate his popularity and reported the allegation to Gandhi.[115] Niranjan resigned from the Presidentship of Khadi Board on this issue but never ceased his work for the cause of Oriya nationalism and the national movement.

Niranjan Pattnaik played a conspicuous role during the Civil Disobedience movement, particularly when congress decided to violate the obnoxious salt law and organise Salt Satyagraha. As the President of Ganjam District Congress Committee, he toured along with Kishoremani Devi, Rama Devi, Sarla Devi, Chandramani Devi, Biswanath Das and Sasibhusan Rath to the salt manufacturing areas like Hamma, Gopalpur, Ganjam and Naupada and organised Satyagraha. The Salt Satyagraha created a new awakening in Orissa and turned into a mass

movement. Niranjan along with other leaders were arrested in early June 1930 and sent to Vellore Jail. At that time, he learnt the sad demise of his father and wrote a letter to the mother, which shows the spirit of nationalism and patriotism in him. His dream came true when on 1 April 1936, Orissa was created as a Separate Province and India attained her freedom on 15 August 1947. But towards the latter part of his life, he remained as a faded figure in the political life of Orissa.

Rama Chandra Mardraj Deo :

Ramachandra Mardraj was the son of Harihar Mardraj Deo, the Raja of Khallikote estate. He was born on 13 January 1900 and educated in Madras. He assumed the rulership of Khallikote estate in 1921. He was a true nationalist and tried to fulfill the ambition of his father i.e. to unite,the Oriya speaking areas belonging to Madras Presidency into one administrative unit. He became the President of Ganjam District Board in 1922 and played a conspicuous role in championing Oriya nationalism. His rising popularity made him the member of the Legislative Council of Madras in 1923. He was very much impressed by the sympathetic attitude of Gandhiji towards the people of Orisaa. In 1921, Gandhiji told in a public meeting at Berhampur that, "Before the Sun rises tomorrow the Oriya-Telugu dispute should be settled and strong Andhras must yield to the weak Oriyas".[117] He hosted Gandhiji in his palace at Rambha on 30 December 1927.[118]

Ramachandra Mardraj convinced the members of Phillip-Duff Commission at Rambha palace(17 Decemeber 1924 to 21 December 1924) giving all the logical arguments right from the birth of Utkal Union Conference for the amalgamation of Oriya speaking areas. A public meeting was arranged by him to show the Commission at

Khallikote regarding the response towards the particular cause.[119] This mamoth meeting was first of its kind in Khallikote. When the Boundary Commission, O'Donnel as the Chairman, visited Gopalpur on sea on 15 December 1931, Ramachandra helped the Committee in giving all the evidences for the purpose.[120] The Committee's report was very much opposed by the Oriya leaders for non inclusion of Manjusa, Ichhapur, Jalantar, Budersing, Tarala and Parlakhimidi. When Orissa boundary question was debated in Madras Legislative Council, Ramachandra Mardraj vehemently opposed the amendment of the Raja of Bobbili that the Oriya speaking areas south of the river Rushikulya and Ghodahad be retained in Madras.[121]

A Special Session of Utkal Union Conference was held. at Berhampur under the aegis of Ramchandra in order to discuss Orissa Committee Report. He strongly criticised to the irrelevant demands of Andhra Mahasabha of Vijowada and pointed out the mistakes of O'Donnell Committee's report. In the inaugural speech, he said

> "Under the able guidance of the President, the deliberations that will take plece here this afternoon will mark an epoch in the annals of our country and will result ultimately in the inauguration of young Orissa, an ideal, homogeneous, compact little Province with no Brahmin-Non Brahmin feeling, no Hindu Muslim troubles and other communal strifes of which we have quite enough in India".[122]

In December 1932, he was invited to London as a delegate to the Third Round Table Conference, where, he took prominent part in the deliberations regarding Indian Constitutional Reforms. On 24 December 1932, he presented a note on boundaries of Orissa Province to Sir

Samuel Hoare, the Secretary of the state. On 12 January 1933, Ramachandra Mardraj felicitated Sir Samuel Hoare at Colridge Hotel, London. In his reply Sir Samuel Hoare said that :

> "In this connection I must note the observation of the Rajah of Khallikote, that 10 million Oriyas are completely satisfied with the results of the Round Table Conference.[123]

After this announcement in London, the Andhras tried their best not to include Parlakhimidi and Jeypore in Orissa. But Ramachandra Mardraj strongly protested and presented sufficient reasons for the inclusion of Parlakhimidi and Jeypore. The Raja of Parlakhimidi Sri Krushna Chandra Gajapati highly praised the efforts of Ramachandra Mardraj .[124] It is Ramachandra Mardraj who had given valuable evidence before the Joint Parliamentary Committee regarding the Indian Constitutional reforms and expansion of Orissa's boundary. In fact, the note on the boundaries of the Orissa Province was mainly prepared under his guidance. Thus he played a significant role in the formation of a Separate Orissa Province. He also served as a minister of Orissa in 1959 and patronised liberally the educational and cultural institutions. Ramachandra Mardraj left for the heavenly abode on 23 January 1963, at the height of glory.

Sasibhusan Rath

The founder of the first Oriya daily, the first Oriya member of the Madras Legislative Council, a foremost social workers, journalist, critic and nationalist, Sasibhusan Rath played a very significant role in the political life of Orissa. He was born on 1 January 1885 to Lambodar Mahapatro of Sorada in the Ganjam

district. But he was adopted by his maternal uncle Digambar Rath of Mahulia. After completing his early education at Mahulia and Rassulkonda, he joined in the Maharaja High School, Parlakhimidi and passed the Entrance examination.

As a child, he had attended the Ganjam National Conference of Rambha and worked as a volunteer in the Berhampur Session of the Conference. The burning patriotism in him and the plight of the Oriya students in the Ganjam district of Madras Presidency attracted him towards the Oriya movement. But economic necessity compelled him to search for an employment and he fled to Bombay. With the help of an Anglo-Indian lady, he got an appointment in a shoe factory at Bombay. His inquisitive mind led him to learn some secret technique of leather tanning. Apprehending risk to his life for knowing the trade secret of the factory, he resigned his post and ventured to start a factory of his own known as "Rath & Co". His indifferent health due to frequent attack of jaundice forced him to wind up the factory and returned to the village in 1908. At that time, Madhu Sudan Das had established 'Utkal Tannery' at Cuttack and Sasibhusan worked as the Manager of the factory for some time.[126] Then, he left his job and joined as the supervisor of 'Young and Company' at Calcutta till 1912. The plight of the Oriyas living in Calcutta and their ignorance had a great impact on him and he had tried to organise them for their better living.[127]

Soon after his return to Berhampur, Sasibhusan was determined to promote the Oriya movement in Ganjam and making the people conscious about their rich culture. He felt that the leadership should come from the scholars and at that time unfortunately, there were very few scholars.

Literary men like Sribatsha Panda was working as the Sub-Registrar at Badakhimindi and Nilamani Vidyaratna was the Pundit in the Court of the Raja. Considering the need of a Newspaper which can champion the cause of the Oriyas and expose the highhandedness and negligence of Government officials, he published an weekly called 'Asha' from Berhampur on 13 April 1913. It was started with the help of an old hand Press of Belguntha and lead letters collected from Madras. The initial investment was Rs.500/- which Sasibhusan had received from Raja Krupamaya Dev of Badakhimundi. This weekly paper was named after his daughter Asha. [128] It acted as a successful communication link between southern Orissa and the mainland.[129] Before the publication of 'Asha', different journals like 'Ganjam News' from Parlakhimidi, "Oriya Sahitya Bahini" from Berhampur, 'Prajabandhu' from Rambha and 'Ganjam Gunaparvan' from Badakhimidi accomplished little to ventilate the public opinion properly. But 'Asha' fulfilled the long cherished desire of the people.[138] The office of the Press situated near the Venkateswar Temple of Berhampur gradually became the centre of Oriya renaissance.[131]

Till the emergence of Sasibhusan Rath in the political scene of Orissa, the Oriyas of Ganjam only submitted memorandums to the Government demanding for the union of scattered Oriya speaking areas under one administrative unit. But after 1912, they no longer maintained any submissive attitude towards the Government and their nationalism turned miore aggressive under the leadership of Sasibhusan. Even frequent meeting and big demonstration were organised demanding the formation of a Separate Orissa Province. [132] The rising popularity of Sasibhusan paved the way for his entry into

Madras Legislative Council on behalf of the Oriyas of Ganjam. His activities and achievements provided him another term to be member of Madras Legislative Council.

Sasibhusan Rath, not only, championed the cause of Oriya nationalism, but also joined the Congress movement in Orissa. As an associate of Gopabandhu Das, he made a whirlwind tour of the Ganjam district and popularised the message of non-violent non-cooperation movement. But the apathy of Congress leaders towards Provincial issue, which was evident in the Calcutta Session of Indian national Congress, led Sasibhusan to revive Utkal Union Conference in 1923. He formed Ganjam District Association and requested the Government to safeguard the interest of the Oriyas by accepting Oriya as one of the languages of courts and offices. [133] When Utkal Union Conference was passive and defunct due to the enthusiasm of Non-cooperation movement, Sasibhusan Rath injected a new life to it by convening its session at Berhampur in 1923 in order to mobilise strong public opinion for the creation of Orissa Province. The Government of India appointed Phillip-Duff Committee in 1924 to make a detailed enquiry on the spot regarding the attitude of Oriya inhabitants of Madras Presidency towards their Union with Orissa.[134] Sasibhusan and his associates worked restlessly to aquaint the people with the nature of the interview and how to answer the questions boldly.[135] When Simon Commission was boycotted by the congress leaders in 1928, it is the people of Ganjam who welcomed it under the leadership of Sasibhusan. This attitude led the committee to recommend for a Separate Province of Orissa.[136] On the request of Sasibhusan Rath, the Raja of Chikiti, Goura Chandra De arranged a dinner in his palace for the members of O'Donnell Committee, which also helped in the favourable recommendation for the inclusion of Ganjam in the proposed Province of Orissa.

Though O'Donnell Committee recommended the formation of a Separate Province of Orissa, yet many Oriya speaking tracts like Manjusa, Jalantara, Tekkali, Ichhapur, Tarala etc. were not included in the Province. Sasibhusan Rath converted his weekly 'Asha' into daily 'Asha' in the year 1928 in order to mobilise strong public opinion for the amalgamation of all Oriya speaking areas. The first issue of Daily 'Asha' was released from Berhampur on 13 April 1928.[137] He also published an English daily from Berhampur called 'New Orissa' from 5 May 1933[138] and edited another English daily name 'East Coast'. He was imprisoned several times for participating in the freedom movement. Most of the time, he adopted a conciliatory rather than reactionary attitude towards the Government in order to further the cause of Oriya movement in its latter phase. He had been to Burma in 1934 and organised the Oriyas living therefor their welfare.[139] He too was a great champion of Harijan movement in Orissa. Sasibhusan Rath was a patriot, a nationalist, a journalist of repute, a social reformer and above all the architect of Oriya renaissance. He breathed his last on 20 March 1943 at the age of 58.

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CONCLUSION

Orissa, once a much famed and powerful Hindu kingdom was reduced to a terra incognita after 1568. The land and its people receded into political oblivion for almost three centuries. Notwithstanding this Orissa retained a cultural distinctiveness much more prominent than her political status within the characteristic syndromes of India civilization.

In an assimilation of the Dravidian and the Aryan ways of life, Orissa served like a land bridge. Her geographical location provided opportunity for oversea expansion. The influence of Indian religion, philosophy art and architecture crossed over to South-East Asia from the ports of ancient Kalinga. Even the European mercants were drawn towards the Orissan ports for commercial adventure.

Orissa was stronghold of India's several great religions, like Jainism, Buddhism, Saivism and Vaishnavism for a longer period of time than many other regions of India. Vaishnavism is still centred in Orissa with the cult of Jagannath as its mainstay. King Anangabhima III (1211 A.D.-1238 A.D.) dedicated his empire to the new state deity in order to unite various religious faiths and to popularise the Jagannath cult. Jagannath was considered the real ruler and the king ruled as the Deputy of his Lord. This concept helped the evolution of Jagannath Cult as a vigorous faith which in course of time became synonymous

of Oriya nationalism. Monarchical and social institutions centring round Jagannath cult not only kept Orissa united but also made her a formidable power. Shri Chaitanya incorporated the doctrine of neo-Vaishnavism in the cult of Jagannath and popularised the faith in Eastern India. Lord Jagannath continued to remain as the symbol of Oriya nationalism during the onslaught of Muslim invasions in the 16th and 17th centuries.

The sculptors and architects of Orissa exhibited their calibre as creative genius in the monuments of Bhubaneswar, Puri and Konarak. The artistic beauty of the Mukteswar, the Lingaraj, the Rajarani and the Konark temples reveal the creative originality of the Orissan artists.

Orissa was the last Hindu kingdom in India to succumb to external invasions. The endurance, courage, strength and religion of the people were seriously affected by the oppression of the Afghan, Mughal and Maratha rulers. They could not bring all the areas inhabited by the Oriyas under a single administration. Orissa did not come under British sway all at a time. Instead, it was a piecemeal process during which different portions were annexed for administration under various administrative units. The political dismemberment of Orissa was an accident of history. With the consolidation of the British rule in the first half of the 19th century, the hasty administrative arrangements made in the wake of territorial conquests remained unaltered. The politico-administrative set-up of the land went through complete structural disintegration. The dismemberment brought in all kinds of misery to the people. As the Oriyas lived under four different provinces, they began to forget their past glory. The political dismemberment had pernicious effect on the homogeneity of the Oriya race and seriously jeopardised their integrated development.

The disadvantages of such territorial vivisection were realised during the devastating famine of 1866. The British government could not give adequate attention to Orissa Division, as it was an appendage of Bengal. The unprecedented tragedy of 1866 forced the Government to eschew their usual complacency and to adopt some welfare measures as safeguards against the vagaries of nature. But, no effort was made for the creation of a homogeneous administrative unit by amalgamating all the Oriya speaking tracts inspite of the suggestions of Sir Staffford Northcote, the Secretary of State and Henry Cooke, the Commissioner of Orissa Division.

Therefore, the nationalist sentiments found expression initially as a reaction to the insuperable handicaps the Oriyas were facing in all spheres of life in Provinces where they were adminstered as insignificant minorities. Even, the safety of the Oriya language was in great jeopardy due to the Chauvinistic attitude of the Bengalis, Telugu and Hindi speaking people. To maintain their separate identity, therefore, they demanded not only amalgamation of Oriya speaking tracts under one Provincial administration but also the formation of an independent administrative unit.

In the initial stages, the cause of Oriya nationalist was championed by the educated elites, landlords and the feudatory chiefs. The observation by the Missionaries like Barhier, Sutton, and Pegg who considered Orissa as a "land of profound and universal ignorance" was humiliating and unfair. The elites demanded greater educational facilities to remove such stigma. There was nothing like an integrated system of education under state control. Education was entirely a private venture of the missionaries to meet the day to day requirement.

A new phase was opened in the development of education after 1866. The Government took positive steps for the establishment of Normal Schools, to give grant-in-aid to schools and publication of low priced text books. Primary education was brought under more careful and systematic attention of the Government agency and a separate Inspector of Schools was appointed for Orissa Great stress was given on the promotion of secondary and collegiate education. But, the progress was insignificant to the need of Orissa in comparison to the progress achieved in the neighbouring provinces. Several factors were responsible for the slow process of growth. Apart from the inherent conservative outlook the Oriyas faced problem of communication, financial support and dearth of text books in Oriya language. Calcutta as the nearest centre of higher education was far away from the heartland of Orissa and unconnected by roads and railways till 1890 when the East Coast Railway line was laid.

Nevertheless, the introduction of English education though limited in scale broke the barrier which had hitherto effectively shut the people from western ideas. It promoted individual conscience and brought home new concepts of social justice and freedom of expression. It generated a resentment against traditional beliefs and practices. The handful of elites gave a call for social resurgence through reforms and change in attitude. They felt the necessity of rediscovering and reinterpreting the cultural values and history of Orissa. A History of Orissa was written for the purpose by Pyari Mohan Acharya to inspire the Oriya children with their glorious past. With the introduction of printing machine, there was the growth of Vernacular Press. While the press ventilated the grievances of Oriya community, the elite class tried to organise socio-cultural associations to infuse political consciousness among the people.

The last quarter of the 19th century was a period of literary renaissance in Orissa. With the introduction of printing machine newspapers, periodicals and books were published in prodigal abundance. A new literary spirit emerged. The influence of English literature on modern Oriya literature became clearly perceptible towards the later years of 19th century. In place of poetry prose writing gained popularity. Fakir Mohan, Radhanath and Madhusudan were the great exponents of the modern trend in Oriya literature. Fakir Mohan in fiction and Nanda Kishore Bal in poetry brought the common man of Orissa under the focus of literature. They reflected the history, culture and traditions of Orissa in their writings. A group of young writers like Annanda Sankar Ray, Baikuntha Nath Patnaik and Kalindi Charan Panigrahi tried to portray the spirit of freedom in the resurgence of the poor peasantry in their works. Th dramas of Vaishnava Pani were widely acclaimed as the harbinger of social reforms. The modern Oriya literatureushered in an era of nationalistic spirit, thus paving the way for Satyabadi literature best known for its pure Oriya character uninfluenced by Western ideas and traditions. The poetry of Gopabandhu Das projected the basic socio-economic problems of the people and imbibed a sense of faith for a better future. The writings of Godavarish Mishra and Nilakantha Das dealt on the historical perspective with a view to galvanise the dormant sense of patriotism of the people.

The elites realised that the people of Orissa must remain united to combat any threat to their language and culture. Hence, Oriysa nationalism turned strongly language oriented.There was a great controversy regarding the extent to which the Oriya language should be used in the schools of Orissa. Taking advantage of the situation, some local Bengali officers had tried to influence the Government to abolish Oriya language from

the school curriculum and introduce Bengali in 1869. They publicly propagated that Oriya had no independent existence and it should not be treated as a separate language. Kantilal Bandopadhyay considered Oriya is a dialect of the Bengali language. Rajendralal Mitra went a step further to say that the Oriyas were not a separate people, but a part of the Bengali race. The feeling in Orissa ran high and Rajendralal Mitra was criticised for his ignorance on the origin of Oriya language and the number of Oriya speaking people. This language controversy awakened the people of Orissa from slumber. They now realised the necessity of protecting their language from the onslaughts of the outsiders. The local newspapers highlighted the distinctiveness of Oriya script and the language by citing opinion of European scholars, like John Beams and G.A.Grierson.The Orissa Association launched an agitation for the amalgamation of Oriya speaking tracts to ensure the protection of Oriya language in the schools and public offices. To articulate a more vigorous public opinion in favour of amalgamation of the Oriya speaking tracts the Utkal Union Conference was established in 1903. It took up the problems of Orissa on a wider platform in order to promote the interests of the Oriya people.

In 1895 the language problem took the shape of a mass movement, when the Government decided that the official work of Sambalpur be transacted in Hindi in lieu of Oriya. As the British administered India from colonial view points, they depended on the reports of intermediary subordinates and consequently were incapable of an unbiased understanding of the need of the people. At first, people of Sambalpur thought it seditious and undesirable to decry the moves of the Government openly. But the concern shown by the leaders like Madhusudan Das emboldened the people to face the challenge in a resolute

manner. The British Government might have thought of change from Oriya to Hindi proper and experienced from administrative point of view, but, to subject the people to an alien language in place of their mother tongue was denial of natural, justice. The elites of Sambalpur only pleaded for that and spearheaded a mass movement against the Government policy. Ultimately their claim was vindicated when the decision to substitute Hindi in place of Oriya as official language was rescinded by the Government in 1905 and Sambalpur was amalgamated with Orissa Division.

Since the formation of Utkal Union Conference, the most towering personality of Orissa was Madhusudan Das. He was a moderate who believed in peaceful presentation of grievances to the higher authorities and sought the redressal through their good will. He was convinced that Orissa could not be allowed to continue as a neglected area under British Government. His aim was to awaken the Oriyas to fight for their cause, so that they could achieve their distinct identity as a people. In his opinion the enlightened provincialism and Indian nationalism were not contradictory rather complimentary to each other. Attainment of *Swarajya* by non-violence and Satyagraha was accepted by the Utkal Union Conference. Madhusudan Das believed that the solution of the socio-economic problems of the Oriyas lead to the attainment of their political goal.

The Indian political picture changed considerably with the emergence of Gandhi in 1919-20. Gandhiji now took the message of the Congress to the common man. Gopabandhu Das worked assiduously for the congress organisation in Orissa. Emergence of Gopabandhu Das brought a polarisation between the Congress and those who adopted the programme of Utkal Union Conference.

Responding to the call of Gopabandhu Das, the new generation of public workers began to believe that Oriya cause would be better served by freeing the country from foreign rule. In trial of strength at the Chakradharpur Session of Utkal Union Conference the congress programme of non-cooperation was adopted as the guideeine and the Utkal Pradesh Congress Committee was formed with Gopabandhu Das as the President.

With the change of leadership in Orissa Gopabandhu emerged as the unassailable leader of the Oriya people.Orissa played a significant role in the Non-Cooperation Movement of 1920.Gandhiji appreciated the people of Orissa for following non-violent non-cooperation with great zeal. Many students, lawyers and Government servants gave up their respective vocations and joined the National movement.The people also evinced great interest in the constructive programme of the Congress, even after the suspension of non-cooperation movement. In 1930, the Salt Satyagraha campaign in Orissa achieved great success. Gandhiji's other programme like cow protection, eradication of untouchability, prohibition, popularisation of cottage industries and the promotion of Hindu Muslim amity were followed in right earnest in Orissa. Political awakening in Orissa had permeated to different levels among labourers, cultivators, students, rich and poor and above all the people of the princely states. This is evident from the participation of the large number of rural people in the Salt Satyagraha with unprecedented enthusiasm.

The leaders of Orissa, however, never eschewed the demand for amalgamation of the Oriya Speaking tracts. When the Simon Commission was appointed to study the effectiveness of Montague-Chelmsford Reform Act, the

Congress decided to boycott it. But, the members of 'The Orissa Liberal League decided to welcome the Commission and presented a memorandum relating to the Oriya problem. Upon the recommendation of the Commission, Attlee Sub-Committee studied the Oriya problem sympathetically and recommended the constitution of a separate Orissa Province. Sri Krishna Chandra Gajapati, the Raja of Parlakhemundi also brilliantly championed the cause of the Oriyas in the Round Table Conference.

Consequently, on 18 September 1931, the Qrissa Boundary committee was set upto report on the demarcation of the boundaries of the new Province. The Congress and Non-Congress leaders of Orissa reconciled their differences to work unitedly to furnish requisite information to the Orissan Boundary Committee. The Commission finalised its report in April 1932. Though the recommendation came as disappointment to the people of Orissa due to non inclusion of many Oriya speaking areas, yet, due to the effort of Sri Krushna Chandra Gajapati, Jeypore and Paralakhemundi were finally included in the new Province.

This was followed by the constitution of the Orissa Administration Committee and subsequent Government of India Act, 1935. On 21 January 1936, the formation of Orissa and Sind into Separate Provinces was announced. On 1 April 1936, the new Province of Orissa came into existence as one of the eleven units of British India. The long cherished and natural desire of the Oriya people to be re-united after centuries of political separation and dependence upon other administration was fulfilled. It was the first experiment on the formation of a Province on linguistic basis. Hence, the Oriya movement had sparked off demands in other regions for the reorganisation of the

states on the basis of linguistic homogeneity. However, the Oriya leaders felt that the boundary of the new Province could have been more comprehensive. But the facts revealed through the Government reports would indicate that on the strength of the population statistics and administrative expediency the decision taken by the Government of India in 1936 could not have been more beneficial for the Oriya speaking people. However, their struggle for separate identity reached its logical culmination when Sir John Austin Hubback, ICS was administered the oath of office as Governor of Orissa on 1 April 1936. It was the fulfilment of a long cherished dream of an ancient people who rightfully claimed distinct political identity for the safety of their language and culture.



APPENDIX - I

Constitution of the Utkal Union Conference.

In 1919, the Utkal Union Conference adopted its constitution. It contained the aims and objectives of the Conference.

(a) To establish unity and bring uniform progress of 'Natural Orissa' the members will pledge to undertake that,

(i) each district shall have District Conference Committee;

(ii) Membership of the District Committee shall be opened to the native of the district,and

(iii) each member shall subscribe Rs.3/- annually.

(b) District Committee shall establish local committees at various places of the district to propagate and execute the aims and objectives of the Conference, establish branch committees and supervise their work and ventilate the grievances of the district before the authorities.

(c) The Executive Council of the Conference had the following duties to do :

(i) To execute the Resolutions of the Conference,

(ii) to discuss any law or circular meant for natural Orissa

(iii) to place before the authorities problems and grievances pertaining to natural Orissa or any particular region;

(iv) improvement of Oriya literature, and

(v) to convene extraordinary session of the conference and determine its venue.

(d) Further the constitution laid down that :

(i) delegates for the annual Conference shall be chosen by the District Committee

(ii) annual sessions shall be held on scheduled dates, and

(iii) delegates from the District Committee and Members of the Reception Committee alone would be regarded as delegates of the Conference.

The following quota was fixed for each District Committee regarding the number of delegates to be sent to the annual session of the Conference.

Cuttack-15, Balasore -8, Puri-10, Ganjam-10, Sambalpur-5, Singhbhum-2, Midnapur-1, Feudatory States of Orissa-10, Central Provinces-3, and Vizagapatam-3.

APPENDIX - II

Summary of Report of the Orissa Sub-Committee

(Note : The Sub-Committee consisted of Dr. Suhrawardy of the Indian Central Committee, the Raja of Kanika and Laxmidhar Mohanti of the Bihar and

Orissa Provincial Committee, with Major Attlee as Chairman. The Sub-Committee had the advantage of the assistance of officers who had served in the area, and two of its members had represented parts of the Oriya-Speaking country on legislative bodies).

1. Distribution of the Oriyas

(a)	In Bihar and Orissa Province	-	4,798,768
(b)	In Orissa Feudatory States	-	2,940,338
(c)	In Madras Presidency	-	1,566/966
(d)	In the Central Provinces	-	190,294
(e)	In the Central Provinces Feudatory States	-	58,578
(f)	In Bengal Presidency	-	142,107
	Total	-	9,697,051

2. The case of the Oriya speaking people is based on the fact that, although possessed of a common culture and "language, they are now divided among a number of separate administrative areas in all of which they form a small minority. They claim to be a distinct people with a history and tradition of their own. They claim that all the Oriya tracts should be amalgamated; and that this single unit should be either a separate administration or incorporated as a whele with one another. The Sub-committee considered that the grievances was well founded, the demand substantially supported.

3. The Sub-Committee considered in detail the areas comprised in the above table. It took into consideration not merely linguistic and racial composition but

administrative and economic factors and came to the following conclusions.

The population of the Orissa Division is 90 per cent Oriya and forms the natural nucleus of the race. Angul, though containing many aborigines should be included. The Orissa Feudatory States which are not, part of British India should be brought into relationship with any administration set up for Orissa. Singhbhum contains less than 20 per cent of 'Oriyas and 75 per cent of aborignes. The composition of its population, its geographical position, and its economic interests militate against its inclusion in Orissa. The Sub-Committee recommends its exclusion. In Bengal, there is only the possibility of minor adjustments of boundary in the circles of Mohanpur and Gobiballa-bhapur in the interest of Orissa. In the Central Provinces with the exception of Khariar estate, the Oriyas are in a minority, generally they do not exceed 25 per cent. Minor adjustments only are recommended. In Madras, it is not recommended that any part of Vizagpatam Agency Tract should be transferred as the lines of communications run south-east, and it is necessary that the backward area should continue to be linked with the coastal area of which it forms the hinterland. As regards, Ganjam, while the evidence is contradictory., and linguistic, racial and economic considerations conflict, it is recommended that all parts of the district north of a line drawn westward from the coast between Ichhapursm and Sompeta to the Agency and those parts of the Agency where Khonds predominate should go to Orissa. The Sub-Committee came to this conclusion in the light of present communications, but railway and road developments in the north of the Presidency may invalidate the view now advanced.

4. After consideration of the alternatives of transfer of the territory as a whole to a particular Province, and the creation of a Sub-Province, the Sub-Committee was in favour of the creation of an Orissa Province, although it recognised that the decision involved the larger question of Sub-division of existing Provinces.

5. Estimates of revenue and expenditure were presented which were disputed and which depended to some extent on unascertainable factors. The Sub-Committee came to the conclusion that with strict economy the new Province could just pay its way, if income and expenditure remained as at present, but that the normal income could not provide for a large measure of development, for the needs of the backward areas or for the periodic ravages of flood and famine. The question of the establishment of a Separate Province, therefore, depends on the financial relationship between the Centre and Provincial Governments in respect of deficit areas.

6. The Sub-Committee recommended that special precautions should be taken to ensure the reliability of returns at the next census.

7. Mr Laxmidhar Mohanti thought that the boundaries of Orissa might be considerably extended, especially by the inclusion of Singhbhum.

(Report of the Indian Statutory Commission, Vol.II, Appendix-VI.

APPENDIX - III

A Statement of area, population, etc. of the Feudatory States of Orissa integrated with Orissa in 1948-49.

Sl. No.	State	Area (in Sq. miles)	Population (1921 census)
1	Athgarh	168	42,351
2	Athamalik	730	59,749
3	Bamra	1,988	1,34,721
4	Baramba	134	38,630
5	Baud	1,264	1,24,411
6	Bonai	1,296	68,178
7	Daspalla	568	34,509
8	Dhenkanal	1,463	2,33,691
9	Gangpur	2,492	3,09,271
10	Hindol	312	38,617
11	Kalahandi	3,745	4,15,827
12	Keonjhar	3,096	3,79,496
13	Khandapara	244	64,289
14	Mayurbhanja	4,243	7,54,314
15	Narasinghpur	199	33,002
16	Nayagarh	588	1,22,842
17	Nilgiri	278	65,222
18	Pal-Lahara	452	23,789
19	Patna	2,399	4,94,456
20	Rairakhole	833	31,225
21	Ranpur	203	41,282
22	Sonepur	906	2,26,751
23	Talcher	399	51,015
24	Tigiria	46	19,334

(Compiled from C.V.Aitchison's, *A Collection of Treaties Engagements and SunnudsRelating to India and NeighbouringCountries*, Vol.11, Calcutta, 1931).

GLOSSARY

Abadhan	-	Village teahcer.
Akhra		Gymnastic Club.
Ankhun	-	Muslim teacher
Alochana Sabha	-	Discussion Club.
Ashram	-	Training centre for Congress workers
Avatara	-	Incarnation.
Basti	-	Human settlements.
Bazar	-	Market.
Bhagabata ghara	-	Village Prayer house.
Bhoga	-	Offering to the deity.
Bhadra Samaj	-	Society of elite.
Bhajans	-	Devotional Songs.
Chatasli	-	Village School
Charkha	-	Spinning wheel
Circar/Sarkar	-	Districts duringMuslim period and continued by the British.
Cutchery	-	Office, a Court.
Chowkidar	-	Village watchman.
Dandapat	-	An administrative Unit.
Darbar	-	Meeting of the kings.

Darshan	-	Interview with the king.
Dusserah	-	Festival of Durga.
Dharmasala	-	Rest House for pilgrims.
Gaontia	-	Village headman/wealthy man of the village.
Gura	-	Molasses.
Hartal	-	Strike, Cease work.
Hata	-	Village weekly market.
Janmabhumi	-	Homeland.
Jativa Samiti	-	National Conference.
Kaviraj	-	Ayurvedic Physician
Khadi	-	Home spun coarse cotton cloth.
Khoraki	-	a diet allowance.
Kisan	-	Farmer.
Kisan Sangha	-	Peasants Association.
Lathi	-	Big bamboo stick used by the police.
Madalapanji	-	Temple chronicle of Jagannath.
Mahant	-	Head of a monastery.
Mahaprasad	-	Holy food of Lord Jagannath.
Maharahja	-	The King.
Malguzar	-	Revenue Collector.
Math	-	Monastery.

Maliah	-	Hilly areas inhabited by the tribals.
Maqtab	-	Persian School.
Mela	-	Village Fair.
Meli	-	Violent agitation.
Muthia	-	Collection of handful of rice.
Nimak Mahal	-	An area for the collection of salt duty.
Opera	-	Open Drama.
Padayatra	-	Pilgrimage on foot.
Pagri	-	A Head gear.
Paika	-	Landed militia.
Panchyata	-	Village aribitration court.
Pandit	-	A Scholar.
Puranas	-	Mythologies.
Purdah	-	Veil.
Purna Swaraj	-	Complete Independence.
Royat	-	Peasant/Farmer.
Sabha/Samiti/Samaj	-	Meeting, Association.
Sammilani	-	Conference
Sanatanis	-	Advocates of Hinduism
Sastras	-	Scriptures
Satyagraha	-	Non-violent Protest demonstation.

Satyagrahis	-	Participants in Satyagraha
Sarbarkar	-	Village Accountant.
Senanayak	-	Commander.
Sevak	-	Hereditary servants of Lord Jagannath.
Sevadal	-	Congress Volunteers.
Subah	-	Province.
Swadeshi	-	Indigenous.
Swaraj	-	Self rule/Independence.
Taluk	-	An administrative division.
Tamshasa	-	Farce.
Tari	-	Termented Juice of a Palm tree.
Thana	-	Police Station.
Tol	-	Sanskrit School.
Vanar Sena	-	Monkey Brigade.
Zamindar	-	Proprietor of an estate who pays revenue directly to the Government.
Zamindari	-	The tract of land constituting the possession of a Zamindar.
Zilla	-	A District, A Division.
Zulum	-	Oppression.



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- to C.F. Andrews.

- to Laxmi Narayan Sahu.

- S.N. Rajguru with S.M. Bhanj Deo and R.N. Bhanj Deo, Raja of Kanika.

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Lord Zetland, Secretary of State for India (1933-1940), Rolls - 5A and 5B.

Special Files :-

Lord Chelmsford	Accn.No.13	Sl.No. 1
Edwin Montague	,, 13	,, 2
Lord Hardinga	,, 14	,, 4
Lord Morley	,, 61	,, 7
Sir A.P.Patro	,, -	,, 98
Hare Krushna Mahtab	,, -	,, 105

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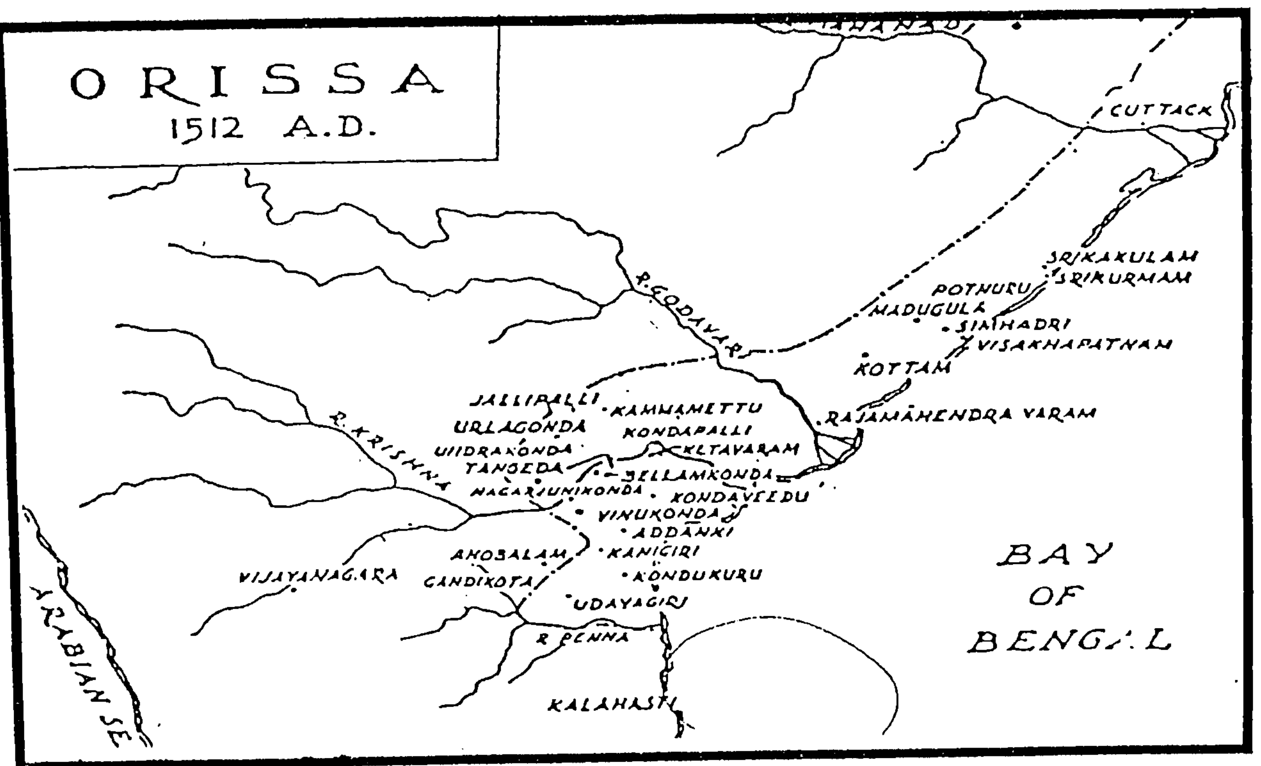
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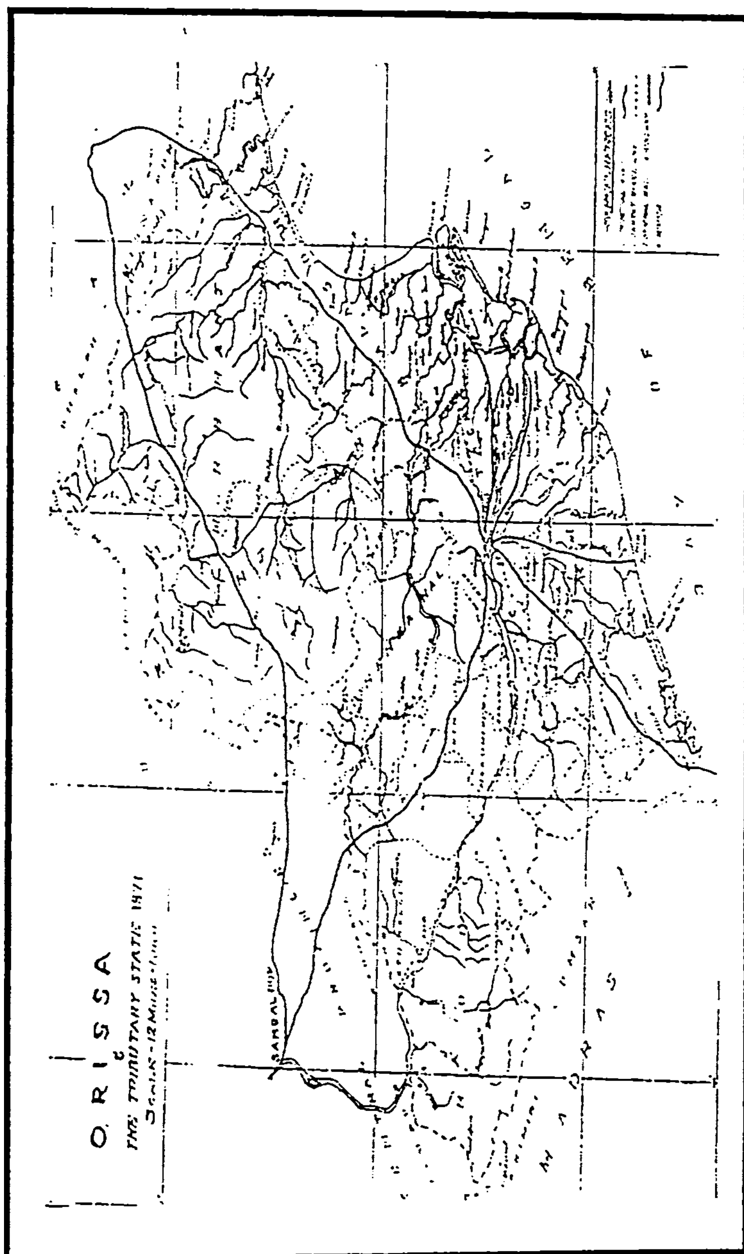
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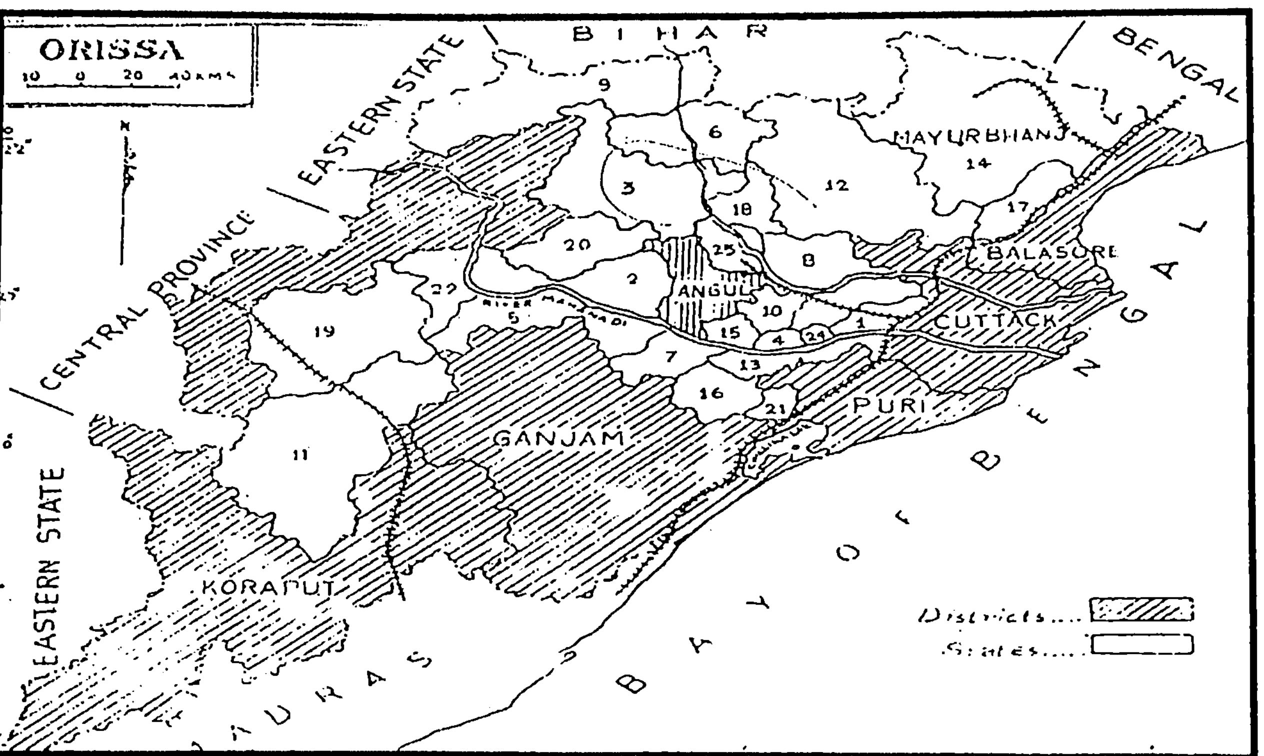
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ORISSA
1512 A.D.
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SRIKAKULAM
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R. GODAVARI
JALLIPALLI
KAMMAMETTU
URLAGONDA
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TANGEDA
BELLAMKONDA
NAGARJUNIKONDA
KONDAVEEDU
VINUKONDA
ADDANKI
AHOBALAM
KANIGIRI
VIJAYANAGARA
GANDIKOTA
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UDAYAGIRI
R. PENNA
KALAHASTI
R. KRISHNA
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ORISSA IN 1800 A.D.


ORISSA
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PURI
GANJAM
KORAPUT
RIVER MAHANADI
EASTERN STATE
CENTRAL PROVINCE
EASTERN STATE
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Districts....
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The book by **Dr. Narayan Rao** deals with the most sensitive aspect of Orissan History when the Oriya speaking people were searching for distinct political identity. The language agitation of the 19th century had provided the motivation which finally culminated is the formation of Orissa province in 1936 on the principles of linguistic homogeneity. Though there are other works on analogous theme published by Dr. S. C. Patra, Dr. P. K. Mishra and Dr. Nibedita Mohanty, the work of Dr. Rao has its own relevance and significance. Nothing would give me more satisfaction than the wide appreciation of the present work it as a valuable contribution to Orissan Historiography.

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A Study of the Search
for Identity of Orissa and
The Creation of a Separate Province